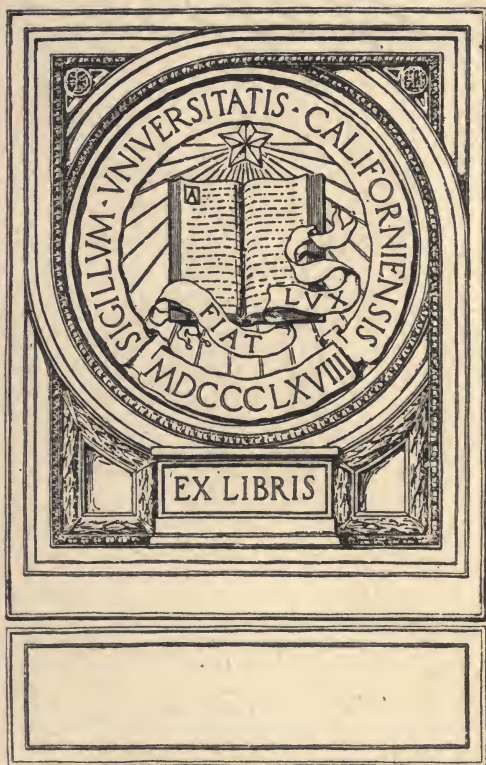


GRANT ALLEN'S
HISTORICAL GUIDES
CLASSICAL
ROME

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GRANT ALLEN'S HISTORICAL GUIDES

CLASSICAL ROME

BY

H. STUART JONES, M.A.

FORMERLY DIRECTOR OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME



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J6

TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE
COMMISSION

TO
COUNTESS HEDWIG OF NESSELRODE-REICHENSTEIN

. . . es ist alles beseelt in deinen heiligen Mauern,
Ewige Roma.

241197.



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PREFACE

NOT only do fresh discoveries alter the aspect of ancient sites, but the monuments in Roman museums are frequently rearranged, and new acquisitions are exhibited. No effort to keep abreast of such changes can be entirely successful, but this guide has been brought up to date as far as possible. The author is indebted to Dr. Ashby, Director of the British School at Rome, for information supplied while the sheets were passing through the press. For the rest, he will only take this opportunity of acknowledging the great debt which he, like all students of Roman antiquities, owes to the writings of Wolfgang Helbig, Christian Huelsen, and Walther Amelung.

November, 1910.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IN order to keep the volumes of this guide within a size convenient to the traveller, the book has been divided into two parts—the one dealing with Classical, the other with Christian Rome.

Classical Rome possesses a double interest for the modern visitor : firstly—and chiefly—on account of her unique position in history as the first and last capital of a world-empire embracing western civilisation ; secondly, as the latest home of classical art, where many of the finest works of Greek craftsmen were ultimately housed, and practically all were represented by copies, many of which are still preserved in her museums. Some will find a greater attraction in the monuments which illustrate the history of the Roman people, from its obscure beginnings to its Imperial splendour, others in the art-treasures of the Roman collections and the story which they tell to the trained eye ; but no one who wishes to enjoy to the full what Rome can give him should neglect either field of study.

It would be impossible to arrange the monuments described in this book in strictly chronological order without much waste of space, nor would it be advisable for the traveller whose time is limited to visit them in such order. So much of the history of Rome is contained in the Forum, the Sacred Way, and the Palatine that they must claim attention first ; in the framework thus supplied other monuments will easily find their places. Next should come a visit to the Capitol, where, apart from the historical associations of the site, the art collections of the Museo Capitolino and the Palazzo dei Conservatori furnish a conspectus of

ancient art in all its periods, ending, as is fit, with that of the Roman Empire, embodied in Imperial portraits and historical reliefs. It is but a few steps from the Capitol to the region of the Imperial Fora on the one side, and on the other lies the Campus Martius. In these quarters the traveller will learn something of the transformation wrought by the Emperors in Central Rome. Climbing the Eastern heights, he will realise how the region of parks, palaces, and baths formed an outer ring about the busy quarters of the city, and in the Villa Borghese and the Museo delle Terme he will continue his study of ancient sculpture. At the east extremity of the Caelian is the Lateran, with its museum of sculpture, and crossing the Caelian into the valley by which the Appian Way issues from Rome, we come to the imposing ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, and complete our circuit by a visit to the Aventine and the riverside quarter. There still remains the right bank of the Tiber, with the great collections of the Vatican, which must be visited again and again.

The sections of this book follow the order given above ; museums are described in their topographical surroundings. They may of course be visited at any time, and the student of ancient sculpture who has sufficient time at his disposal will arrange his programme in accordance with his predominant interest ; but there are two, the **Museo Kircheriano** (p. 175) and the **Villa di Papa Giulio**, described in the thirteenth section, which are chiefly instructive to those concerned with the origins of Rome and its place in Early Italy. They should therefore be visited early by those who desire to trace the history of the Roman people systematically from primitive times.

A short section on the walls of Rome is inserted at the close of the book. Both the early and the late lines of fortification are well worthy of study and most interesting to follow ; but the traveller need not, indeed should not, begin with an examination of them.

No time should be lost in making the ascent of the Janiculum in order to enjoy the **view of Rome** described on

p. 4, and gain a general idea of the city and its surroundings. Before the construction of the railway, travellers approaching Rome from the N. by carriage entered it by the Porta S. Pancrazio and at once saw it under its most impressive aspect ; and those who arrive by train and lose this splendid prospect should at once make good the deficiency. The **view of Central Rome** from the tower of the Palazzo del Senatore (p. 5) deserves an early visit.

Monuments and remains of antiquity **outside the walls** of Rome are **not** described in this book, since it is intended to include them in a separate volume.

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TIME-TABLE OF ROMAN MUSEUMS, ETC.

[These are of three classes—Papal, National, and Municipal. To the first belong the collections in the Vatican and Lateran palaces; to the second the two Museums on the Capitol, the Antiquarium, the Museo Barracco and some minor monuments; to the third the Museo delle Terme, the Museo Kircheriano, the Villa Borghese (now Villa Umberto Primo), the Villa di Papa Giulio and the remaining monuments and excavations. Free admission to these collections can be obtained by students recommended by recognised institutions under certain conditions. The British School of Archæology, Palazzo Odescalchi, the American School of Classical Studies, Via Vicenza 5, and the British and American Archæological Society, Via San Nicolò da Tolentino 72, are of great service to students of antiquity].

In the following list M = Municipal, N = National, P = Papal.

Angelo, Castle of S. (N.)	9-4, Sundays 10-2	1 lira; Sun. free
Antiquarium (M.) . . .	9-5	50 c.
Barracco, Museo (M.) . .	Tues. and Fri. 10-2	free. Sun. free
Borghese, Villa (N.) . . .	10-4, Sun. 10-1	1 lira *
Capitoline Museum (M.) .	10-4, Sun. 10-1	1 lira, Sun. free
Colosseum (N.)	9 (Sun. 10) till sun-down	50 c.
Columbarium of Pomponius Hylas (M.)	10 till sundown	25 c.
Conservatori, Palazzo dei (M.)	10-4, Sun. 10-1	1 lira; * Sun. free
Forum Romanum (N.) . .	9 (Sun. 10) till sun-down	1. lira; Sun. free
Kircherian Museum (N.) .	10-4, Sun. 10-1	1 lira; Sun. free

Lateran Museum (P.) . . .	Tues. and Thurs. 10-3, Sat. 10-1	1 lira ; Sat. free
Palatine (N.)	9 (Sun. 10) till sundown	1 lira ; Sun. free
Papa Giulio, Villa di (N.)	10-4, Sun. 10-1	1 lira ; Sun. free
Scipios, Tombs of (M.) . .	10 till sundown	25 c.
Tabularium (M.)	10-4, Sun. closed	1 lira *
Terme, Museo delle (N.) .	10-4, Sun. 10-1	1 lira ; Sun. free
Thermæ of Caracalla (N.)	9 (Sun. 10) till sundown	1 lira ; Sun. free
Vatican Museum and Library (P.)	10-3, Sat. 10-1 †	1 lira ; Sat. free

* Tickets (1 lira) are sold at the entrance of the Capitoline Museum, and admit to the Palazzo dei Conservatori and Tabularium.

† The Etruscan collection is shown on Mondays and Thursdays. Egyptian (and Galleria Lapidaria) on Tuesdays and Fridays, the Galleria dei Candelabri on Wednesdays.

HOW TO USE THESE GUIDE-BOOKS

*THE portions of this book intended to be read at leisure **at home**, before proceeding to explore each town or monument, are enclosed in brackets [thus]. The portion relating to each **principal object** should be quietly read and digested **before** a visit, and referred to again afterwards. The portion to be read **on the spot** is made as brief as possible, and is printed in large legible type, so as to be easily read in the dim light of churches, chapels, and galleries. The **keynote words** are printed in **bold type**, to catch the eye. Where objects are numbered, the numbers used are always those of the latest official catalogues.*

*Baedeker's Guides are so printed that each principal portion can be detached entire from the volume. The traveller who uses Baedeker is advised to carry in his pocket one such portion, referring to the place he is then visiting, together with the plan of the town, while carrying this book in his hand. These guides do **not** profess to supply practical information.*

*See little at a time, and see it thoroughly. **Never** attempt to "do" any place or any monument. By following strictly the order in which objects are noticed in this book, you will gain a conception of the **historical evolution** of the town which you cannot obtain if you go about looking at churches and palaces haphazard. The order is arranged, not quite chronologically, but on a definite **plan**, which greatly facilitates comprehension of the subject.*

MAP OF CLASSICAL ROME

This map represents in a simplified form the growth of Rome from the earliest period, in which the Palatine was fortified as an isolated height to the time of Aurelian (A.D. 270-275), when the walls by which the city is still for the most part enclosed were built. The limits of the Septimontium (p. 6) are roughly indicated thus ---, and those of the city of the kings, including the Quirinal settlement (p. 6), are shown thus x x x x, where they do not coincide with those of the Septimontium. The inner line of wall is the "Servian" (p. 7), the outer that of Aurelian. The principal lines of road, a few modern streets, and some of the chief landmarks of Imperial Rome (Baths, Mausolea, etc.) are also shown, together with the course of the principal aqueducts of which remains are to be seen. Note that the Vatican and the northern half of the Janiculum lay outside of the ancient city: they were laid out as Imperial parks (see p. 10). The Vatican and the district between it and the Tiber (including the Mausoleum of Hadrian) were separately fortified by Pope Leo IV (A.D. 845-857) in consequence of the Saracenic invasions, and hence bore the name of the "Leonine city." The fortification of the entire city, including the Vatican and Janiculum, was begun by Paul III (1534-1550) according to the design of Antonio da Sangallo, but was not completed until the reign of Urban VIII (1623-1644).

ORIGINS AND GROWTH OF ROME

IT is sometimes asserted or implied that Rome was, from her geographical position, inevitably destined to become the mistress of the ancient world. This is a strange exaggeration. Geographical conditions are no doubt of great importance in moulding the channels along which the course of history runs: but history is made by men and races, and their qualities are the determining factors. It was not inevitable that the earliest civilisations should spring up in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates, rather than in that of the Mississippi; neither was it necessary (though it was natural) that the unification of higher culture should take place in the basin of the Mediterranean. Nor, again, was a central position in the central peninsula of that basin an indispensable requisite for the city whose political power was to accomplish this work of unification. Carthage, for example, was equally fitted by her geographical position to carry out the task. Nevertheless Rome, once occupied by a race endowed with the gift of ruling, was favourably placed for the growth of her external influence. Her hills, once embraced in a well-contrived chain of defences, made her position one of great strength, while leaving room for a large population within the walls. She was far enough from the sea to be secure against pirates, and was practically at the head of navigation of the most considerable waterway in Central Italy. In the conquest of the peninsula her central position gave her an important strategical advantage, seeing that there was no bond of union between her enemies

to N. and S. But it was the genius of her inhabitants—their disciplined valour in war, their love of social order in peace, and their essentially practical spirit in every relation of life—which enabled them to press their natural advantages to the uttermost. When their history begins, we find them a primitive people, just emerging from barbarism, on the borderland between two higher cultures, that of the Etruscans to the N., and that of the Greek settlers to the S. To the former they were for a century or more subject, and although they succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the Tarquins, they derived the externals of higher civilisation from their rulers. In art and architecture, in ritual and religion, and in a host of other matters, the traces of Etruscan influence on Rome were indelible. Nevertheless, the Romans had the genius of progress and assimilation which was lacking to their neighbours, condemned by this defect to a gradual decline from the state of pomp and luxury made familiar to us by their painted tombs. From the Greeks of S. Italy Rome had not to fear political subjection. When she came directly into contact with them, she had already given proof of the unifying and organising power which enabled her to transcend the limits of the Greek city-state in the absorption of the Latin race and its kindred stocks, and it was easy to see that no limits could be set to the process of expansion thus begun.

Who were this people so uniquely gifted, and whence did they come? From their **language** we can infer that they belonged to the stock from which sprang the progressive races of civilised Europe—Celt, Teuton, and Greek—as well as the “Iranian” peoples of Central Asia and Persia and the Hindus. It was once thought that the close likeness between the Latin and Greek languages pointed to a time when these two peoples lived together; but it is now recognised that to the scientific philologist the resemblances between Latin and Celtic are equally significant, and the most that can be said is that, wherever we may place the cradle of the Indo-European or “Aryan” race, those branches which pushed their way westward and southward must at

one time have been near neighbours in Central Europe. Prehistoric **archæology** tells us a good deal as to the successive forms of culture which have prevailed in Italy from the Old Stone Age onwards ; but it is always hard to be sure that a change of civilisation implies a change of race. Nevertheless, it is somewhat more than probable that the first "Italic" peoples of Indo-European descent, amongst whom may have been the ancestors of the Romans, entered Italy from the N.E. at the beginning of the Age of Bronze, bringing weapons and tools of the new metal from Central Europe.¹ They lived at first in pile-villages built in shallow water or in bogs, then on similar platforms, raised on dry land and surrounded by a moat ; and primitive as were their dwellings and manners, they already manifested a genius for order and for the subordination of the individual to the community. Some centuries later, just as bronze had displaced stone, so iron ousted bronze ; and with the dawn of the Early Iron Age came a second wave of immigration from Central Europe and a great shifting of populations in Italy. Hitherto the Italic peoples had been confined to the valley of the Po and the N.W. slopes of the Apennines, except for a few adventurous settlers who had made their way down the Adriatic coast : now, learning the use of iron, they hewed their way across the Apennines, dispossessed the weaker populations, and established themselves along the eastern coasts of Italy. There is a thick cluster of their settlements about the Alban hills, and we can now point to the burial-place of some of the earliest inhabitants of Rome itself in the necropolis adjoining the Forum (p. 76). This "Latin" race was poorer than the Italic stocks of N. Italy, whose cemeteries are found about Bologna as well as in Tuscany, whither the Etruscans had not yet penetrated ; but the future was theirs. Archæology enables us to trace their gradual advance. The coming of

¹ The "Neolithic" inhabitants of Italy survived in historical times in the N.W. under the name of Ligurians. Probably they were a branch of the race which raised the megalithic monuments of Europe and Africa (e.g. Stonehenge).

the Etruscans—a people whose origin and affinities are still an unsolved problem—brought many changes in Central Italy, particularly the adoption (for a time) of interment in place of cremation ; and very soon Greek manufactures began to find their way to Rome. From the Greek colonies came the art of writing, as yet unknown in Italy ; and with writing history begins.

Rome will always be known as the city of the Seven Hills ; but not all of these were sharply defined eminences. The best general impression of the city and its surroundings is obtained by ascending the Janiculum and surveying the view either from the piazza in front of S. Pietro in Montorio, or from the summit of the hill, crowned by the equestrian statue of Garibaldi. It will be seen that the Tiber makes a deep furrow through the undulating plain of volcanic origin known as the Campagna. To the S. rises the extinct volcano, which, with its subsidiary craters, forms the Alban hills, dotted with towns of which the most conspicuous is Frascati, some 200 feet below the site of the ancient Tusculum. To the E. we see the Sabine hills, a limestone formation jutting out from the Apennines, whose summits are visible in the background. In the upper valley of the Tiber the isolated peak of Soracte stands out clearly. From the top of the Janiculum the view extends to the N. as far as the line of heights which marks the edge of the Ciminian forest ; that, like the Alban hills, had its active volcanoes in remote times.

The action of the Tiber repeats on a larger scale that of the numerous streams which plough the Campagna with furrows in the friable volcanic earth, leaving, in place of a uniform tableland, groups of detached heights and promontories. As the river approaches the site of Rome it makes a bend to the right, skirting the base of the western heights. The low-lying ground, now thickly covered with buildings on the left bank, is the Campus Martius, which was only gradually included in the circuit of the city. The range of hills facing the Janiculum bore various names. To the N. it was the Hill of Gardens, and the name is still partly applicable to it, for the groves of the Pincio and the

Villa Medici occupy most of its area. This was never counted amongst the Seven Hills. Then comes a long spur which juts out under the name of (1) the Quirinal, first to the S.W. and afterwards to the S. from the tableland. At the corner is the Royal Palace, and near the extremity we see the Torre di Nerone. A much shorter spur (2) the Viminal, is marked by the huge pile of the Ministry of Finance. Next comes (3) the Esquiline, which fills a large space in the background of the panorama: the Campanile of S. Maria Maggiore stands at its northern extremity. All these hills in reality form a single indented plateau. In the foreground is a group of heights formed on the left bank of the Tiber, where its channel narrows by the action of tributary streams. The northernmost is (4) the Capitoline, marked by the Campanile of the Palazzo del Senatore, which is in reality a prolongation of the Quirinal. The valley which now separates them, as will be seen later, is partly at least artificial. Next we see (5) the Palatine with its cypresses and the ruins of the Imperial palaces; and somewhat to the S.W. of it (6) the Aventine, with the church of Santa Sabina and the new Benedictine Monastery of St. Anselmo. Only one of the seven hills is hidden—(7) the Cælian, a ridge projecting from the southern extremity of the Esquiline and ending in a square-topped eminence to the E. of the Palatine. The statues on the roof of St. John Lateran, which tower above the cypresses of the Villa Mills, mark its eastern extremity.

The panorama just described gives an excellent impression of the city at the height of its development; but its early growth is best appreciated by mounting the tower of the Palazzo del Senatore (p. 150). It will be seen how the Palatine, which, before the lower levels were drained, was protected on three sides by marsh and stream, and connected with the main tableland only by the saddle of the Velia (upon which the Arch of Titus now stands), was well fitted to receive the first defensible settlement on the site of Rome. That it was indeed the original city was an accepted

tradition amongst the Romans, and there is no valid reason for calling it in question. The remains of the Flavian Palace (p. 94) now fill the central depression which originally divided the hill into two parts, the westernmost being the Palatine proper, or "hill of Pales," the shepherd's god, while that nearest to the Capitol was called the Cermalus. But the process of growth was not long in beginning. Upon the two spurs thrown out by the Esquiline—the Cispius, upon which S. Maria Maggiore stands, and the Oppius, which lies behind S. Pietro in Vincoli, the church which crowns the western extremity of the hill called Fagutal, the beech-grove—as well as on the slope of the Cælian facing the Palatine, called Sucusa, there sprang up villages which entered into association with the inhabitants of the Palatine. The religious tie which united them found expression in the "Feast of the Seven Hills" (*Septimontium*), celebrated on December 11 even in Imperial times. The Seven Hills were not those of classical tradition; the names usually given are Palatine, Cermalus, Velia, Cispius, Oppius, Fagutal, Sucusa, for which last we sometimes find Cælius.

It would be misleading to speak of the *Septimontium* as a city: it was rather a cluster of villages, one of which had its burial-place, discovered in recent years in the low-lying ground to the N. of the Velia. It is worthy of note, however, that the term *mons* was never applied by the Romans to the heights which lay outside the circuit of this community: the Viminal and Quirinal were called *colles*, and the gate by which the city was entered on this side was the Colline Gate. On these hills another settlement, said to be of Sabine origin, was formed at an early date. Its burial-places have been discovered on the summit of the Quirinal, which takes its name from the Sabine divinity Quirinus. Such at least is the account given by Varro, the greatest of Roman antiquarians; but the Sabine affinities of the settlers on the Quirinal have been disputed by Mommsen and other scholars. In any case, Rome, in the proper sense of the name, came into existence when the

Palatine and Quirinal settlements were fused in a single community, which planted its citadel on the Capitol, established its market in the Forum—which must have been to some extent drained, probably by the regulation of the stream which in time became the “Great Sewer” (*Cloaca Maxima*)—and had its meeting-place (Comitium) under the shadow of the Capitol, at the N.E. extremity of the Forum.

According to Roman tradition, this city was first fortified by Servius Tullius, to whom were ascribed the remains of the great wall of masonry still preserved in some places. This tradition cannot, however, be accepted. The character of the masonry, the measurements of the blocks, the forms of the masons’ marks engraved thereon, all point to the fourth century B.C. as the period when the existing wall was built; we hear of fortifications constructed after the evacuation of Rome by the Gauls, who sacked it in 390 B.C., and there is every reason to think that the almost impregnable defences supplied by the “Servian” wall were erected in order to guard against a recurrence of that catastrophe. That the City of the Kings had its defences is very probable: but they certainly did not enclose the vast area encircled by the walls whose origin is in question. On the Quirinal and Esquiline burial-places have been discovered beneath or within the line of the wall, and as interment within the city was prohibited, it is clear that in this region the later fortification took in a considerably extended area. It was planned on a generous scale. Starting from the river at the point nearest to the foot of the Capitol, it followed the line of that hill and the Quirinal up to the point where it juts out from the table land. Here it turned sharply to the S.E., and as this side of Rome was deficient in natural strength, an embankment (*agger*) and fosse were constructed, nearly a mile long. Hence the wall ran down into the depression which separates the Esquiline from the Cælian, climbed the latter hill and skirted its southern slope, then crossing another narrow valley embraced not only the Aventine proper, but also the height to the S.E. known as the Lesser Aventine (upon which the church of S. Saba stands),

and finally reached the river at a point nearly two hundred yards below that from which it started. The system of defence was completed by a fort on the Janiculum : and the ancient "bridge of piles" (*pons sublicius*), which tradition ascribed to Ancus Martius, gave the only access to the right bank of the Tiber. This bridge, in accordance with an inviolable tradition, was built solely of wood, and hence all trace of it has disappeared ; but it must have stood somewhere near the modern Ponte Palatino.¹ The "Servian" fortification was admirably planned for defensive purposes, and no doubt included a considerable area (especially on the W.) which was but sparsely inhabited. The Forum was the centre of the city's life, and the valleys adjoining it, especially the Subura (corresponding nearly with the lower part of the Via Cavour) and the Velabrum, between the Palatine and Capitol, were crowded quarters. The cattle-market or Forum Boarium (Piazza Bocca di Verità) was by the river-side, and the vegetable-market or Forum Holitorium (Piazza Montanara and its neighbourhood) was without the river-gate on the edge of the Campus Martius. The Field of Mars itself, however, now the most densely populated region in Rome, was as yet unoccupied, save by temples and public buildings, the earliest of which was the temple of Apollo founded in 431 B.C., whose remains are near to the church of S. Maria in Campitelli. The dwellings of the rich were to be found on the Palatine, the Velia, and the crest of the Oppius facing the Palatine which was called the Carinæ or "keels," where S. Pietro in Vincoli now stands. The Aventine is declared by tradition to have been parcelled out amongst the *plebs* in 456 B.C., and it remained throughout Republican history their stronghold ; doubtless it was also inhabited by the mercantile class, whose business was in the docks and warehouses by the river-side in the modern "Testaccio" quarter. It was

¹ The "Ponte Rotto," or "broken bridge," as the remains just above the Ponte Palatino are called, is all that is left of the Pons Æmilius, the first stone bridge built in Rome in the second century B.C.

excluded from the sacred precinct of the *pomerium* until the time of Sulla.

It is hard for us to picture to ourselves the Early Rome of which so little remains except the foundations of temples, beginning with that of Jupiter the Best and Greatest and his associates, Juno and Minerva, which dates from the establishment of the Republic (p. 100). We can form a somewhat better idea of the new Rome which came into being in the second century B.C. when Carthage and the Hellenistic monarchies of Macedon and Syria had been humbled by the mistress of Italy. Little indeed survives to recall the Rome of the Gracchi: temples, porticoes and colonnades have either been destroyed or restored in the style of the Empire; but those who are familiar with Pompeii may form some idea from the buildings of the "Tufa period" in that town of the style of architecture and decoration which prevailed in second-century Rome. The Romans, however, were beginning to learn the use of travertine (see below, p. 14), the most characteristic of their building materials, which was hardly used at all by the Pompeians. Some account of the transformation as it affected the Forum and its surroundings will be found on p. 42.

The finest surviving monument of Republican architecture is the Tabularium which dominates the northern end of the Forum (p. 47); this, however, belongs to the century of Civil war, during which little was done to beautify the city. The grandiose schemes of Cæsar (who is said to have planned a great extension of the city boundaries by the alteration of the channel of the Tiber so as to embrace the modern Prati di Castello) were never completely carried out; but Augustus gave effect to many of his ideas. For example, the changed aspect of the Forum Romanum, with its new orientation, was due to the dictator; his own Forum, with its temple of Venus Genetrix, was the first of the group of monumental piazzas raised by the Emperors in the centre of the city. The Campus Martius, too, upon which important public buildings such as the Flaminian Circus and the

Portico of Metellus Macedonicus (146 B.C.) with its gallery of painting and sculpture had sprung up in Republican times, received an added splendour at the hands of Augustus and his colleague Agrippa. Julius Cæsar had determined to transfer the meetings of the assembly of the people from the Comitium to the Field of Mars, and though the Comitia ceased to be of any political importance under the Empire, the polling-booths (*Sæpta*) which he had planned beside the "Broad Street" (via Lata, now the Corso) were set up on a magnificent scale by Agrippa, who also gave to Rome the first of its People's Palaces under the name of Thermæ or Baths, fed by the newly-built Aqua Virgo (p. 182). Close to these was the Pantheon, or "all holy" temple of the divinities which protected the Julian house, now represented by Hadrian's rotunda. The theatres of Balbus and Marcellus (p. 166 f.), the Altar of Peace (p. 184), and the Mausoleum built by Augustus for himself and his house (p. 185), were amongst the other buildings set up in the Campus Martius under the first of the Emperors. Now, too, the ring of parks by which the populous quarters of the city were encircled, was laid out and beautified. Some were already in the possession of the Imperial family, such as the "grove of the Cæsars" in the Trastevere: others were the property of great commoners, such as the "Gardens of Mæcenas" on the Esquiline, laid out upon the site of one of the plague-spots of ancient Rome, the "puticuli" or trenches outside the Servian *enceinte* in which the bodies of the pauper and the slave were cast pell-mell, or the "gardens of Sallust" in the modern "Ludovisi quarter," on the slopes of the Quirinal and Pincian and in the valley between those hills, in which some of the most famous remains of ancient sculpture have been brought to light. The former were bequeathed to Augustus by his trusted adviser: the latter became the property of Tiberius; and one by one the remainder, with scarcely an exception, passed into Imperial hands.

Augustus did much for the municipal administration of Rome, dividing the city into fourteen wards and creating

a police force and fire brigade. But the influx of population from all parts of the newly-founded Empire led to all the evils of jerry-building and overcrowding with which modern cities are so painfully familiar. It is sometimes said that the Great Fire of Nero (A.D. 64) led to a clearance of the slums ; it is even hinted that Nero brought it about with that end in view ; but the first of these propositions is unprovable, and the second improbable. We read in Tacitus of measures enacted in order to prevent the recurrence of such a calamity¹ : but the third satire of Juvenal (familiar to most Englishmen through the free imitation in Dr. Johnson's *London*) shows that the old evils soon sprang into fresh life. In one quarter, however, the fire wrought a great change—on the western slopes of the Esquiline and in the adjoining valleys. Nero took advantage of the destruction of these quarters to build his Golden House on the vacant site. This was not a single palace, but an immense park, with lakes and woods, containing a number of residences ; and Nero's action in thus appropriating to himself so vast an area enabled later emperors to turn the site to public uses. Thus the Colosseum was built on the site of one of its lakes ; the Baths of Titus were close to the main palace, and those afterwards built in their immediate neighbourhood by Trajan were actually based upon some of its richly decorated chambers, which were turned into foundations. Much of the rebuilding was the work of the Flavian emperors, who enlarged the ideal boundary of the *pomerium* and claimed the New Rome as their foundation.

To Trajan Rome owed the most magnificent of the Imperial Fora (p. 155), while Hadrian is represented at the present day by two of the most characteristic monuments of Rome—the Pantheon and the Mausoleum, which is now the Castle of St. Angelo. The Column of M. Aurelius is the most conspicuous monument of the Antonine dynasty, while that of the Severi which followed left its mark on the

¹ e.g. Streets were widened, the height of houses limited, and the lower parts of houses were built of *peperino* only.

greater part of the buildings of the Early Empire, which were restored and embellished with a profusion of costly materials. The Baths of Caracalla typify the colossal constructions with which the later rulers of Rome sought to outdo their predecessors.

In the years of turmoil which followed the extinction of the dynasty of Septimius Severus the emperors had neither the means nor the leisure to add to the glories of their city ; the population, moreover, which had perhaps reached one million in the first century, had declined from the days of M. Aurelius onwards. When in A.D. 271 Aurelian was forced by the imminent peril of barbarian invasion to fortify Rome, the walls no longer embraced the whole of Augustus' city. Once again—and for the last time—there was an outburst of building activity. The founders of absolute monarchy—Diocletian and Constantine—though they spent but little time in their capital, gave to it the crowning examples of giant architecture—the Baths on the Quirinal and the New Basilica on the Sacred Way. But the first Christian Emperor transferred the seat of his government to the Bosphorus. The Eternal City entered upon a new phase of its existence, and gradually put on a new dress as the capital of a spiritual Empire. Henceforth its story is that of *Christian Rome*.

II

ROMAN ARCHITECTURE

A. MATERIALS

FOR the understanding of the architectural remains of ancient Rome some knowledge of their materials is necessary. In early times the volcanic rock of which the hills were formed was quarried on the spot. This **tufa**, as it is called, consists of volcanic scoriæ, which in some places are so loose that they can be dug with a spade, while in others they have been bound by pressure into a soft, friable stone varying in colour from greenish-yellow (in which form it is called *cappellaccio*) to deep brown. The walls of the Palatine, the Servian wall, and the *podia* of the early temples such as that of Jupiter Capitolinus, Saturn, and the Castores, are built of this material, which weathers badly unless protected by a coating of stucco. Under the early Republic no other stone was used by Roman builders, but more durable materials came into use in the third and succeeding centuries B.C. Two varieties of a hard stone formed by the action of hot water upon a conglomerate of volcanic ashes and sand were found in the neighbourhood of Rome, one near Gabii, hence known to the Romans as *lapis Gabinus*, now called **sperone**, the other in the Alban hills, called in ancient times *lapis Albanus* and at the present day **peperino**, from the scoriæ like peppercorns with which it is dotted. Both varieties may be observed in the outer wall of the Forum of Augustus (p. 154): *sperone* is the material used in the façade of the **Tabularium** (p. 47). But the most characteristic of Roman building

materials is **travertine**, which was not in common use before the latter part of the second century B.C., and was for a long while employed but sparingly either for such architectural members as were subject to special stress or for ornamental details. Thus the voussoirs of the Arco de' Pantani (p. 154), by which the Forum of Augustus is entered, are of travertine, whilst the remainder of the arch and the surrounding walls are of *peperino*; again, in the so-called Temple of Fortuna Virilis (p. 265) the angle columns, as well as the remaining capitals, the entablature and some other members are of travertine, whereas the temple as a whole is built of tufa. Travertine, which derives its name from that of *lapis Tiburtinus* applied to it by the Romans because it was quarried in the neighbourhood of Tibur (Tivoli), is a creamy-white limestone found in the Sabine hills. It is an almost pure carbonate of lime deposited in running water, laminated in structure and full of small cavities and fissures. It acquires a mellow golden tint when exposed to weather, and is no mean substitute for the marbles of Greece. The great monuments of the Empire, such as the **Colosseum**, afford conspicuous examples of its use.

Rome furnishes no examples of "Cyclopean" or "Polygonal" masonry, formed with blocks of irregular shape; even the earliest specimens of walling, such as the retaining wall of the Comitium (p. 53) show almost regular horizontal courses, and classical examples of *opus quadratum*, as the Romans called their coursed masonry (e.g. the "Servian" walls and the façade of the Tabularium), show a regular arrangement of standard blocks, four feet in length and two feet square in section, laid in alternate courses of "headers" and "stretchers," so that two of the former range with one of the latter. This practice, however, did not survive the introduction of travertine as a building material; this was not so easily worked as tufa, and to avoid waste was cut into blocks of varying size, so that courses of uniform height and regular jointing are not usually found. Sometimes, however, an appearance of

regularity was given by the use of false joints, e.g. in the tomb of Cæcilia Metella on the Appian way.

The Romans, like the Greeks, generally laid their masonry dry, i.e. without mortar; the blocks were made to fit accurately, and in Greece, though not very commonly in Rome (except under the Empire) were further secured by clamps and dowels. A thin bed of lime is sometimes found between the joints in early buildings; but mortar in the proper sense was not used in Greece or Italy until the third century B.C. It was soon discovered that by mixing lime with a chocolate-coloured volcanic earth, called by the Romans *pulvis Puteolanus* because it was quarried in large quantities around Puteoli (Pozzuoli, near Naples) and known in modern times as **pozzolana**, an immensely powerful cement could be formed. This **concrete** was used by the Romans from the beginning of the first century B.C., or earlier, as their principal building material. Without it they could never have raised the great domes and vaulted halls such as the Pantheon and the Basilica of Constantine, which are the triumphs of their architectural style. Rigid as a rock, and yet comparatively light, it could be used to form cupolas and vaults of great span without exerting the powerful lateral thrust of a stone arch, since it rested on the supporting walls almost like a metal lid. In the **Basilica of Constantine** (p. 78) may be seen huge fragments of such vaults projecting from the side walls without support except from the cohesiveness of the material. In laying foundations and substructures the concrete was poured in a semi-fluid state into a framework of timber and thus cast. Into the fluid cement were thrown fragments of stone, etc., which are seen scattered through the mass like raisins in a plum-cake. The date at which such structures were raised can often be inferred from the nature of the materials used for filling. In early times lumps of tufa only were used: later we find peperino and lava, and in Imperial times brick, travertine, and even marble. The timber framework was generally removed when the concrete had set; but the prints left by the

boarding may clearly be seen in the face of the concrete, as for instance in the foundations of the Flavian palace on the Palatine (p. 95). The framework was sometimes left in its place, and we can now and then see the carbonised remains of the boarding, e.g. in the foundation of the equestrian statue of Domitian in the Forum (p. 60).

Except in foundations, concrete was scarcely ever left without facing ; of this several kinds are distinguished, and serve to date roughly the buildings in which they are found. In the last century of the Republic the face of the concrete was studded with irregular lumps of tufa of pyramidal form, presenting the appearance of a wall built with small stones. A good example may be seen in the arcades at the N. end of the Forum called the "Rostra of Cæsar." This was called *opus incertum*. It was gradually superseded by *opus reticulatum* ("net-work"), in which the blocks were cut to a regular pyramidal shape and laid corner to corner in a lozenge pattern. This was very common under the Early Empire : a good example of the Augustan period may be seen in the "House of Livia" on the Palatine (p. 91). For the arches and angles of walls thus constructed tufa voussoirs and quoins were used until about the close of the reign of Augustus, when it became the custom to use brick for these purposes ; and in time it became usual to face the wall itself with triangular bricks or fragments of roof-tiles (*testæ*), the pointed ends of which tailed into the concrete. This *opus testaceum* was used in conjunction with panels of *opus reticulatum* up to Hadrian's time—excellent examples may be seen in his Villa at Tivoli—but under the later emperors brick facing alone was in use. The thickness of the bricks and thinness of the beds of cement furnish an index to the date of Imperial buildings. Under Nero and the Flavian emperors the thickness of the bricks is from three to four times as great as that of the mortar-joints ; but as time went on the joints grew thicker and the bricks somewhat thinner. In the walls of Aurelian bricks and joints are about equal in thickness. Towards the close of the third century courses

of small tufa blocks were used in alternation with bricks. This has been called *opus mixtum*.

Even the facings which have just been described were not allowed to remain visible except in rare instances, such as the brick arches of the extension of the Claudian aqueduct built by Nero on the Cælian (p. 242). Walls were usually covered with stucco (*tectorium*), and when this was to receive painted decoration several coats of fine marble cement were used. The walls of public buildings, however, were often faced with slabs of coloured marble, to obtain which every province of the Empire was ransacked. Few such walls have been allowed to retain their ancient decoration, for vast quantities of marble found their way into mediæval lime-kilns, and what the lime-burners left was largely used by the builders of modern times for the adornment of churches: a good example may be seen in the Barracks of the Seventh Cohort of Vigiles (p. 270).

The well-known boast of Augustus that he "found Rome brick and left it marble" must be understood in the sense that the importation of marble on a large scale for use in wall-decoration began in his time; for except in this form marble was rarely used by the Romans for building purposes. Almost the only structure built of solid marble in Rome was the Regia, as restored in 36 B.C. (p. 74). The varieties of marble found in Roman buildings are of great number: a collection of more than one thousand specimens made by Pietro Corsi was sold to the University of Oxford in 1827, and is there preserved. There is a collection of some six hundred specimens in the University of the Sapienza at Rome. The traveller will find much useful information on this subject in the Rev. H. W. Pullen's *Handbook of Ancient Roman Marbles* which contains a list of Roman buildings with the specimens found therein.¹ Only a few of the kinds more commonly met with can be mentioned here: it may

¹ Mr. Brindley (chairman of "Marmor, Limited") has corrected many erroneous views as to the *provenance* of ancient marbles: see his article in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1893.

be premised that the term "marble" is used in its wider acceptance, and not confined to calcareous rocks which have undergone crystallisation.

A. White (statuary) and grey marbles. Original Greek statues are generally made of **Pentelic**, or (not so commonly) of **Parian** marble; the latter may be distinguished by its coarser grain and larger crystals. The great majority of Roman copies (which form the bulk of the statues in the museums of Rome) are of **Luna** marble quarried at Carrara, of a pure ivory-white and smooth texture.

The marble of Mount **Hymettus** in Attica, veined with bluish grey, and the grey marble known as **bigio antico**, were much used for columns. Those of S. Maria Maggiore and S. Pietro in Vincoli are examples of the former; some of those in S. Martino ai Monti are of the latter material.

[The name *bigio morato* is given to a very different marble, black with white veins, of which the Centaurs in the Salone of the Museo Capitolino are made.]

B. Coloured marbles. The commonest of these are the following :—

- (a) **Giallo Antico**, the "Numidian marble" of the ancients, quarried in N. Africa. Pale yellow with deeper flushes, veined with orange and pink.
- (b) **Pavonazzetto**, the "Phrygian marble" of antiquity, dark purple in grain with veins of white.

These two marbles, together with green serpentine, are commonly found in pavements, e.g. in the Triclinium of the Flavian palace on the Palatine (p. 95) and the Atrium Vestæ (p. 73).

- (c) **Porta santa** (so called because the "Holy Doors" of the great basilicas have jambs of this marble), found in various shades of pink or flesh colour with irregular markings in white and red, is generally identified with the "Marble of Iasus" of the ancients. But ancient quarries of it have been found in the island of Chios, and it may be the

ancient "Chian marble." Its varieties may be studied in the fountain of the Piazza Colonna. The facing of the hemicycle behind the rostra (p. 57) is of this marble.

- (d) **Cipollino** ("onion-stone," so called from its layers of white and pale green which flake off like the rinds of an onion), the ancient "marble of Carystus" in Eubœa. The most familiar example is furnished by the columns of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina (p. 76).
- (e) **Rosso antico**, a deep red marble, sometimes used in Imperial times for statues, such as the Dancing Faun of the Capitol (p. 126), and
- (f) **Nero antico**, a black marble, generally with white veins, probably to be identified with the ancient "marble of Tænarus," were both quarried in Laconia.
- (g) **Fior di persico** ("peach-blossom") is sometimes supposed to have been the "Molossian marble" of the ancients, found in Epirus, but it seems to have been quarried in the island of Elba. It is a highly variegated marble with markings of red, white, peach-blossom, lilac, etc. Two columns of it may be seen in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

C. Conglomerates or "pudding-stones" ("*breccia*"). The term covers an immense variety of rocks, composed of all kinds of materials cemented together under pressure.

- (a) **Affricano**, which owes its name to the presence of black amongst its markings, the prevailing tone of which is pink or red (not unlike that of *porta santa*), often with a tinge of green, was quarried in the Ægean, perhaps in Chios. A number of fragmentary columns may be seen in the Basilica Æmilia (p. 63).

- (b) **Breccia verde**, found in Egypt, with fragments of granite, porphyry, etc., in a green paste. A fragment of a column may be seen in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.
- (c) **Breccia corallina**, coral-red with fragments of pink. Two columns of a yellowish variety stand in the Cortile del Belvedere.
- (d) **Breccia di Settebasi**, which takes its name from the remains of an ancient villa at "Roma Vecchia" on the Latin Way, owned in ancient times by Septimius Bassus, varies from grey to blue with oblong markings of several colours. A column in the fountain of the Piazza dell' Esedra is of a greenish variety.
- (e) **Breccia di Quintiliolo**, named from the Villa of the Quintilii on the Appian Way, and found in small quantities in Hadrian's Villa, the rarest and most highly prized of the breccias, may be distinguished by its golden, green, and tortoise-shell markings on an almost black ground.

D. Volcanic rocks.

- (a) **Granite**, both red and grey, was imported from Egypt. The columns of the Temple of Saturn (p. 49) and the Portico of the Pantheon (p. 173) furnish examples.
- (b) **Porphyry**, also quarried in Egypt. The red variety is the most prized, and was used for sculptures, e.g. the "Sarcophagi of Constantine and Helena" in the Vatican (p. 272), and a fragment of a colossal statue in the Atrio of the Museo Capitolino. Green porphyry, often (but wrongly) called **Serpentine**, is very common in pavements (see above).
- (c) **Basalt**, a very dark green rock, was used for statuary under the Empire. The boy Hercules of the Museo Capitolino (p. 121) and a statue of a youthful athlete in the Museo delle Terme are examples.

(d) **Verde antico**, a true "serpentine"—so called from its dull green colour resembling a serpent's skin—is thought to have been the *Lapis atracius* of the ancients, quarried in Thessaly, but is not now found there. There are two columns in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and a fine slab in the Sala degli Animali of the Vatican. The Palazzo dei Conservatori also has the figure of a dog sculptured in a variety named *Verde ranocchia* from its frog-like markings.

E. Alabaster. By this is meant, not the crystalline variety of gypsum to which that name is now applied, but a crystallised deposit of carbonate of lime formed by the filtration of water in stalactitic caves. The finest oriental alabaster known to the ancients was found in Egypt; it was also quarried in North Africa (near Tlemsen).

B.—PRINCIPLES OF CONSTRUCTION AND DECORATION

There is an essential difference between Greek and Roman architecture. The Greeks, whether they used marble, stone, or wood, gave stability to their buildings by the **direct support** of the horizontal members on columns or piers strong enough to bear the weight. Thus in a Greek doorway we do **not** find an **arch**, but a **lintel**; in a Greek roof we do **not** see a **vault** or **dome**, but an imitation in marble of **joists and beams**. This is the simplest possible system of construction, and the beauty of Greek architecture—which achieved perfection within its self-imposed limits—is due (i) to the nicely calculated **scheme of proportions** which governed the dimensions of the several members; (ii) to the harmony between **decoration** and **structural function**—e.g. the absence of ornament (except simple flutings, which emphasise the vertical lines) on supporting members, such as the column, and the restriction of sculptured decoration to spaces such as the pediment which were free from strain. In these respects the **Greek temple** may be said to exhaust the possibilities of **rectilinear** architecture.

When we turn to the monuments of Rome, we notice that the most characteristic are **not** the **temples**—which to the untrained eye seem to differ but little from those of the Greeks—but buildings of a new type, such as the **Tabularium**, the **Colosseum**, the **Pantheon**, the **Baths of Caracalla**, or the **Basilica of Constantine**. It will be observed that these serve **civil, not religious**, purposes (with the exception of the Pantheon): this fact by itself illustrates the practical Roman spirit. But there is more than this. The distinctive feature of this new architecture is the use of the **arch**, the **vault**, and the **dome**, which not only carries with it a wholly new series of external effects, depending on the prominence of **curves** instead of straight lines, but also implies a complete revolution in constructive principles. The weight of the superstructure is not upheld by direct vertical support, but distributed by means of the **lateral thrust**, which is called into play by the principle of the arch, and thus concentrated on certain points to which exceptional strength is given. From this root principle spring the later developments of architecture, not only Byzantine and Romanesque, but also Gothic; and a careful study of Roman building tends to show that many of the characteristic features of the later styles were present in germ in Roman architecture.

The question must be asked, Did the Romans owe anything to their predecessors in this respect? It cannot, of course, be denied that the constructive use of the arch was known from very early times. The **Greeks** of the Hellenistic age employed it in substructures and passages, but they **never** erected the **main framework** of their buildings on this system, nor did they give **external prominence** to the arch. It is often held that the **Etruscans** were the creators of the arcuated style, and there is a limited truth in this statement. The monumental **gateways** of their cities made the use of the arch conspicuous; and when we examine their rock-hewn tombs, which reproduce the *forms* of their buildings, we see that the vault and dome must have been familiar to them. These facts give them the right to

be considered the pioneers of the new style; but the credit of developing its inherent possibilities belongs to the Romans.

In the previous section it was shown that it was the discovery of *pozzolana concrete*, with its union of rigidity and lightness, which emboldened the Romans to attempt the erection of their gigantic vaults and domes. It was, however, only by gradual stages that they acquired such mastery over their materials. We have a good example of early vaulting in the **Tabularium** (p. 150), and the **Colosseum** is contrived with a remarkable economy of space and material as a system of vaulted galleries and staircases; but there is as yet no attempt to cover great spaces in this manner. Note that the **basilicas** of early date, such as the Basilica Julia, although they had vaulted corridors, were roofed with timber. In the **Pantheon**, which (as we shall see, p. 173) belongs to the reign of Hadrian, we have a simple but intensely impressive example of the **artistic handling of internal space** which the new architecture made possible. The **proportions** of the building are of the simplest. The height of the cupola is the same as that of the drum upon which it rests, and the total height of the building is therefore the same as the diameter of the pavement. It is just this simplicity which gives us the same æsthetic pleasure in contemplating a **Roman interior** which we feel when we look at the **exterior of a Greek temple**. This form of art has never been lost in Italy, and to its revival at the Renaissance we owe the cupola of St. Peter's. There is, however, much more than meets the eye in the dome of the Pantheon. Its original aspect has been changed (see p. 173), and recent examinations have brought to light what even in ancient times was hidden by the decoration, viz. the fact that an elaborate system of **brick relieving arches** runs through the whole of the concrete. The Roman builders did not trust only to the rigid cohesiveness of their material; they could not, in fact, have done so, so long as the mass retained any of its fluidity. Moreover, the drum is not, in fact, solid throughout, and the

experienced architect can discern in its structure the beginnings of an **articulated system of supports** between which the weight is distributed. In the domed halls of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, which are almost contemporary with the Pantheon, we find some bold extensions of this principle; but a long period was to elapse before the seed thus sown bore its full fruit.

From the decline of the arts which set in with the third century A.D. architecture—if we set aside the element of plastic decoration—was exempt. To the opening years of the century belong the **Baths of Caracalla**, whose remains form the most striking *ensemble* amongst Roman imperial constructions. They will be described in their place: it will suffice to note that the **central hall** with its quadripartite vaulting in three bays surpassed all that the Roman builder had hitherto attempted. It was, however, outdone by the **Baths of Diocletian**, built at the close of the same century, where the great hall preserves something of its aspect **as an interior**, in spite of the restorations which have made it into a Christian church. To the architectural student there are other features of no less interest than these colossal interiors in third-century architecture. The Pantheon solved the (relatively) easy problem of the cupola supported by a circular drum: the next step was to construct a **dome over a rectangular space**, and we find this attempted in one of the minor halls of the Baths of Caracalla (p. 260). We do not here find the perfect **pendentive**, or spherical triangle, at the angles of the building; but this became known to the Romans in the course of the century which followed. A more complicated problem is attacked in the so-called "**Temple of Minerva Medica**" (p. 222), where the ground space is decagonal: the cupola is built up on a **framework of brick arches**, and thus lightened, besides being pierced with windows. Crossing the border of the fourth century, we come to the **Basilica of Constantine**, in which the type exemplified by the great halls of the *Thermæ* is ingeniously adapted to the purposes of the earlier halls of justice, while the place of the surrounding corridors is taken by vaulted

bays so planned that the whole building is self-contained (see the description, p. 79). The history of the cupola culminates in a monument which, though Christian in date and purpose, is thoroughly classical in conception (and even in decoration). This is the **Mausoleum of S. Costanza** (see *Christian Rome*, p. 329), where we have a cupola lighted with windows, carried not on a solid drum, but on twelve couples of columns, and buttressed by a circular ambulatory roofed with a barrel vault—an exquisitely articulated piece of design.

The strength of Roman architecture lies in **construction**, its weakness in **decoration**. Here the genius of the Greeks had found perfect expression; and the forms which it had bequeathed to the Roman builder were embodied in a classical tradition impossible to break. The three orders of columns—**Doric**, **Ionic**, and **Corinthian**—were retained with certain modifications of detail which need not here be explained: the **Corinthian**, as being the most elaborate, was by far the most popular under the Empire. Two were added: (i) the **Tuscan**, a simplified Doric without the flutings, due, as its name implies, to the Etruscans, and (ii) the **Composite**, of which the first dated example is to be seen in the **Arch of Titus**: this is simply a variety of the Corinthian in which the capital is enriched by scrolls or **volutes** borrowed from the Ionic order. What the Romans **failed** to do was **to devise a new system of decoration** appropriate to their new methods of construction. We know that their interiors were panelled with coloured marbles and (later) covered with brilliant mosaics—of which those of the Christian churches, e.g. S. Maria Maggiore (*Christian Rome*, p. 235—the theory of an early date has not, however, stood the test of criticism) can give us some idea, and the coffered vaults with their gilded rosettes must have added to the blaze of splendour. Externally, however, the difficulty of bringing about a harmony such as existed in Greek architecture between **decoration** and **function** was not overcome. The scheme which is characteristically Roman is that which we see in the **Colosseum**. Here the three Greek orders are superposed, the Doric taking the lowest

and the Corinthian the highest place ; and each range of engaged columns appears to carry an architrave running round the arcades. The result is certainly effective, and it is easy to account for its immense popularity ; but the **columns and architraves** are of course **not structural members** at all, but elements in a decorative scheme of lines. From the use of the engaged column as an ornament it was but a step to the employment of the **free column** in the same way ; and the columns (with returned architraves) which flank the bays of the later triumphal arches, such as that of **Septimius Severus**, are signal instances of the divorce between decoration and structural function.

Another fault of Roman taste lay in **excess of ornament**. Here the Greek artists had showed conspicuous self-restraint. The Romans departed from the classical Hellenic standard in various ways. Firstly, they covered (either partly or wholly) with ornament surfaces which would have been left smooth by the Greeks ; secondly, they multiplied and enriched the mouldings proper to the orders ; thirdly, they made the simple vegetable forms which played so large a part in Greek ornament more elaborate. The cornices preserved in the Tabularium (p. 149), and the architectural slabs and pilasters in the Lateran Museum (p. 232), will illustrate these points.

III

ANCIENT SCULPTURE IN ROMAN COLLECTIONS

THE Romans were not devoid of artistic endowment. Setting aside their unique achievement in the domain of architecture, which has been treated separately, they must be credited with the production of masterpieces in **portrait-sculpture** and in **historical bas-relief** which entitle them to a definite place—and that no mean one—amongst the artistic nations. At the same time, it is obvious that their national temperament was practical rather than ideal, and that in art as in literature the seeds of native genius implanted in their race were fertilised only by contact with Hellenic civilisation in its later phases. When we speak of Roman art, we mean that of the last century of the Republic and the first four centuries of the Empire; and though this in itself is of sufficient interest to form a special field of study, it does not possess a tithe of the importance which belongs to Greek art. The Romans were themselves admirers of the Greek genius and its products as ardent as any of our own contemporaries. Not that this faculty of appreciation existed from early times. It is true that from the very beginnings of Republican history we hear of Greek craftsmen summoned to adorn the buildings of Rome. A temple built in 496 B.C. to Ceres, Liber, and Libera was decorated in the archaic style of that period with painted terra-cottas by two Greek artists: a century and a half later statues of Pythagoras and Alcibiades, the wisest and bravest of the

Greeks, were set up in the Comitium, and doubtless brought from Athens. But the predominant influence in Early Rome was that of the **Etruscans**, whose art was of a different order from that of the Greeks. A visit to the Etruscan collection at the Vatican (p. 343) will do more than any description to make the visitor realise how, with all its realism and individuality, it lacked the dignity and restraint, as well as the incommunicable sense of the beautiful, which made Greek art unique. Marble quarries were not worked in Italy until late Republican times, so that the Etruscans, when they did not employ volcanic stone or terra-cotta, were forced to use bronze, in the working of which they were justly celebrated. The "**Mars of Todi**" (though found in Umbria) will illustrate Etruscan bronze-work; for terra-cotta we have a rich material in the sarcophagi and ash-chests, and the later phases of this form of sculpture, in which the influence of contemporary Greek art is clearly discernible, may be seen in the **Sculptures from Falerii**, in the Villa di Papa Giulio (p. 353). The **importation of Greek works** into Rome began with the conquest of Syracuse in 212 B.C., and from thenceforth each victory won meant the spoliation of the conquered cities in order that the triumph of the Roman commander might, if possible, surpass those which had preceded it in magnificence. For a century or more love of display rather than genuine admiration of the beautiful was the ruling motive in this unbridled license of plunder; but when "captive Greece enslaved her fierce conqueror and brought the arts into rustic Latium," a true æsthetic appreciation of Greek masterpieces came into being: connoisseurship and criticism were common in the closing days of the Republic—in spite of the conventional sneers of Cicero in his attack on Verres—and although the prevailing taste was for strictly classical models, the Roman collectors adorned their palaces, villas, and parks with works of all periods. For those who could not afford to possess originals copies were produced, mainly by Greeks working in Rome, and under the Empire the city and the belt of villas by which it was surrounded

were crowded with statues representing every phase of Hellenic and Hellenistic sculpture. From the days of the Renaissance, when originals such as the Laocoon (p. 29) and copies like the Apollo of the Belvedere (p. 303) were brought to light and inspired unbounded enthusiasm, there has been a constant stream of discoveries, peopling the museums and private collections of Rome (and for that matter of Northern Europe) with statues and reliefs, whose inestimable value for us lies in the fact that they fill in some measure the great gaps in the history of Greek sculpture caused by the destruction of all but a fraction of its original monuments. The first serious and scientific attempt to retrace the outlines of the history of ancient art was made by Winckelmann, the librarian of Cardinal Albani, in the eighteenth century; and his success was remarkable in view of the second-hand evidence of the copies upon which he was forced to rely. The archæological discoveries of the nineteenth century, beginning with the transportation of the Parthenon sculptures to London (which in itself was equivalent to many discoveries) have placed us in an entirely new relation to the sculptures of the Roman collections. Few indeed are the masterpieces of the Greek sculptors which have been restored to us—the Hermes of Praxiteles stands almost alone—but enough original work has come to light in Greece and Asia Minor to enable us to measure the interval which separates even the best copy turned out by the workshops of Imperial Rome from the living handiwork of the Greek master's chisel. Three facts deserve to be constantly remembered as we pass through the Roman sculpture galleries: (1) Most of the finest Greek statues were of **bronze**, and these were copied in **marble** as it was **cheaper** and **easier to work**. Now **bronze reflects light, while marble absorbs it**; and the effect of the copies is therefore very different from that of the originals. Again, **a bronze figure needs no artificial support**, whilst a marble statue must have a tree-trunk or some other support to give it stability, and ugly bars or **puntelli** have to be inserted to prop up projecting parts

such as extended arms. Some copyists showed great ingenuity in adapting their models to the conditions of the new material ; see, for example, what is said as to the Apollo of the Belvedere (p. 303). (2) All ancient **marbles** were **coloured** ; in some few instances traces of the colour remain (see on the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, p. 322) ; but they never suffice to give an impression of the original effect.¹ (3) Except in the recently formed collections, such as that of the Museo delle Terme, the statues (which were seldom perfect when discovered) have been cleaned with acids, polished, worked over, and the missing parts **restored**, often in a thoroughly misleading manner.

The sculptures in the Roman museums are not, unfortunately, arranged in such a way that visitors may study the works of various schools and periods continuously, although certain classes of monuments, such as Roman or Greek portrait-busts, are sometimes grouped together. In order, therefore, that the traveller may properly appreciate the æsthetic value of the works which he sees, he should acquire some preliminary notion of the stages through which Greek art passed in its growth, maturity, and decline. A well-arranged museum of casts, such as that formed by Professor Loewy in Via della Marmorata 94, will be found of great service. The Museo Barracco (p. 185) contains something like an epitome of the history of Greek sculpture. Professor Ernest Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* is of convenient size, and should be read by all who wish to study the subject with profit. The principal passages of ancient writers dealing with the history of sculpture are given (with an English translation) in Stuart Jones's *Select Passages of Ancient Writers Illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture*.

Archaic sculpture, under which is included all the work of Greek artists prior to the attainment of naturalism and the

¹ Those who have visited Constantinople will have been able to form some conception of the effect of painting as applied to *relief* from the sarcophagi of Sidon.

abandonment of convention in the middle of the fifth century B.C. is, naturally, not very largely represented in the Roman collections.¹ There was, however, a taste for such works in the time of Augustus, who sent to Greece for statues by Bupalus and Athenis, artists of the sixth century B.C., in order to decorate the pediment of his new temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and to this fashion we owe the preservation of some examples of the work of the earlier schools. The earliest athletic sculpture and the progress made in the treatment of the nude, in which the Greeks were to achieve an unique distinction, cannot be adequately studied in Rome : but there are good examples of female statues, whether of the type whose elaborate and elegant drapery points to Ionic influence, or of the simpler and more truly artistic style in which the reaction of Greece proper asserted itself (see on the statues in the Capitoline Museum, p. 105). For the development of sculpture in the fifth century we have abundant material. The school to which we owe the pediment-sculptures of Ægina, now in Munich, is not, indeed, represented except by some heads in the Barracco collection (p. 187) : but the athletic sculptors of the fifth century, whether Attic or Peloponnesian, were clearly favourites with the Roman public. Rome possesses several copies of the famous **discobolus** of MYRON (p. 219), in which Greek art sprang suddenly to maturity and attacked a problem of immense difficulty with complete success. Less daring, but no less instructive to the student of form, are the standing figures of POLYCLITUS — the **Doryphoros** and **Diadumenos** : the former is represented by a complete figure in the Braccio Nuovo (p. 321). The **standing discobolus** of the Sala della Biga (p. 333) reproduces another masterpiece of fifth-century athletic sculpture of the Attic school ; while the **girl-runner** of the Galleria dei Candelabri (p. 337) and the **Boy extracting a thorn** in the Palazzo dei Con-

¹ The visitor will find a collection of works belonging to this period in the "Room of Archaic Sculpture" in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

servatori are graceful and individual products of the Peloponnesian school. In religious sculpture we have the **colossal head** of a goddess (p. 206), and the **throne of Aphrodite** (p. 206), both in the **Ludovisi** collection; and the Attic school of PHIDIAS and his associates furnished the originals of many statues in the Roman museums, such as the **Apollo of the Museo delle Terme** (p. 212). To the Athenian sculptors, moreover, we owe the beginnings of portraiture, illustrated by the inscribed bust of **Anacreon** in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 136), and the heads of Athenian Generals, including the **Pericles** of the Sala delle Muse (p. 281) which reproduces a work by CRESILAS. The severity and idealism of fifth-century sculpture, in all its schools, may be studied in the several types of **Amazon** represented in the museums (see p. 123). In the latter half of the fifth century Attic artists began to represent flowing draperies with exquisite refinement: we owe to this school the **Maenad** of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 142), the so-called "**Venus Genetrix**" (see p. 298), and other works. For the study of sculpture in the fourth century, when the Greek artists attained the supreme expression of physical beauty—if at the expense of a certain lowering of their ideals of divinity—abundant material is to be found in Rome. Both the Attic school, represented by SCOPAS and PRAXITELES, and that of Sicyon in the Peloponnese, which continued the traditions of Polyclitus and had for its great master LYSIPPUS, are distinctly revealed to us in fine copies. The **Cnidian Aphrodite, resting Satyr, and lizard-slaying Apollo** of Praxiteles (pp. 274, 130, 291) were amongst his most famous works, and surpassed in fame the extant **Hermes of Olympia**, to which the so-called **Antinous of the Belvedere** (p. 306) is nearly akin. Scopas may be studied in the **Meleager** of the Vatican (p. 307), together with the better copy of the head in the garden of the Villa Medici, and in the numerous replicas of the **head** of his **Heracles** (p. 106, etc.). Beside these two great figures the other Attic sculptors of the fourth century stand out somewhat less distinctly. To its earlier years belong TIMOTHEOS, of whose style we gain some idea

from the **Leda** of the Capitol (p. 111), and CEPHISODOTUS, the father of Praxiteles, to whose statue of Hermes with the infant Dionysus we must assign the child's figure in the Museo delle Terme (p. 203). LEOCHARES was famous for his **Ganymede**, a poor copy of which is in the Galleria dei Candelabri (p. 325); if the view held by many high authorities be accepted, we have a far finer example of his style in the **Apollo of the Belvedere** (p. 303). He was employed about the middle of the fifth century on the sculptured decoration of the Mausoleum, the remains of which are in the British Museum, together with Scopas, Timotheos, and BRYAXIS, who in his later years created a fresh type of divinity—**Sarapis**, the Græco-Egyptian god worshipped in the newly-founded Alexandria: of this we have a copy in the Rotunda of the Vatican (p. 277). The Peloponnesian school is fortunately represented by its greatest masterpiece, the **Apoxyomenos** or "athlete scraping himself" of LYSIP. PUS in the Braccio Nuovo (p. 326), whose influence is traceable in many other works, such as the **Silenus and infant Dionysus**, also in the Braccio Nuovo (p. 322). He was the only sculptor privileged to portray Alexander the Great, and we therefore catch echoes of his style in such heads as that of **Alexander as the Sun-god** in the Capitoline Museum (p. 129). His pupil, EUTYCHIDES, executed a statue which personified the "**Fortune of Antioch**"; of this we have a small copy in the Galleria dei Candelabri (p. 337). Such are a few of the lost masterpieces of the fourth century which the Roman copies help us to re-create; and when we have studied them, we are able to recognise in a host of other statues and reliefs the style of that period, and to understand how the ancient critics were in doubt whether to assign to Scopas or Praxiteles the **group of the Niobids**, to which belong some isolated figures of great interest (pp. 110, 324). The advance in portraiture from the conventional, half-ideal types of the fifth century to the masterly characterisation of the close of the fourth is easy to trace, if we examine such a series as the portraits of **Plato** (p. 284)—derived from an original by

the Attic artist SILANION—of **Sophocles** (p. 235) and **Euripides** (p. 118), rendered according to the taste of the latter half of the century, when they were executed for the adornment of the theatre at Athens, and of **Demosthenes** (p. 326); this last belongs properly to the third century, since the original was the work of POLYEUCTUS, and was set up in 280 B.C.

We have now crossed the threshold of a new age—that usually termed Hellenistic, when the conquests of Alexander had enlarged the bounds of the Greek world, and the establishment of powerful monarchies by his successors had created a new type of society—luxurious, cosmopolitan, critical, and intensely “modern.” The stream of art now flowed in many currents; rival schools sprang into existence, and there were not wanting reactionary tendencies: but on the whole the most striking characteristic of the age was its **realism**, embodied in such works as the **drunken old woman** of MYRON THE YOUNGER, (p. 109) the original of which was at Smyrna, or the **fisherman** of the Galleria dei Candelabri (p. 336). The *genre* figure of the **boy with the goose** (p. 127), after BOETHUS of Chalcedon, is the only work of this kind whose artist is known: but the **crouching Aphrodite** (p. 299) of DOEDALSAS the Bithynian is little more than a life-study labelled with the name of a goddess. Ideal sculpture, however, was produced as largely as ever. The most important school was that of **Pergamon**, whose artists were fortunate in drawing their inspiration from the last triumph of Greek over barbarian—the victories of the Attalid kings over the Celts who invaded Asia Minor in the first half of the third century B.C. Beside the famous altar whose reliefs are now in the Berlin Museum, Attalus I caused a number of figures and groups, either directly illustrating or symbolically recalling his defeat of the Gauls, to be set up on the citadel of Pergamon and on the Acropolis at Athens. To the former class belong the “**Dying Gaul**” in the Capitoline Museum (p. 128) and the “**Gaul and his wife**” of the Ludovisi collection: the latter are represented by a figure in the Vatican (p. 338). The school from which proceeded

these works must also be credited with such a fine creation as the **Triton** of the Galleria delle Statue (p. 289). Pergamene artists of a later generation returned to the calmer spirit of the classical period ; their work is nobly represented by the figure of a goddess in the room of the Dying Gaul (p. 128). The school of **Rhodes**, which after the subjugation of Greece by the Romans, succeeded to the position held by that of Pergamon, is represented by its masterpiece, and that the original, viz. the **Laocoon** (p. 300), a work whose poignant realism tends to obscure its religious significance : and the **Centaurs** of the Capitol, copied in the second century A.D. by two Asiatic artists, have been assigned to the same place and period. To the **Alexandrian** school we must ascribe the figure of the **Nile** (p. 328) ; but it does not seem to have been as important as those of Pergamon and Rhodes. Besides the works above-mentioned, there are a number of others of which we can only say that they are of Hellenistic date and style without specifying their place of origin. Such as the **sleeping Ariadne** of the Galleria delle Statue (p. 286) and the **Hermaphrodite** of the Museo delle Terme (p. 215). In this latter museum the **bronze boxer** (p. 211) illustrates later athletic sculpture and the **bronze statue of a king** (p. 212) is a striking example of idealised portraiture. A single head in the Capitoline Museum (p. 110) recalls the work of the one artist from the Greek mainland who achieved greatness in religious sculpture—**DAMOPHON** of Messene. Numerous types of Aphrodite—the latest being that of the Capitol (p. 111)—show the Hellenistic spirit in its gradual development. Roman female statues display a wealth of motives in the treatment of drapery which is inherited from the Hellenistic schools, especially those of Asia Minor—the “**Pudicitia**” type (p. 324) is a good example. The portraits of philosophers and poets which belong to the Hellenistic age are discernible by their intense realism of detail, yet firm grasp of the broad traits of character : the “**pseudo-Seneca**” (p. 116) and the **Zeno** of the Capitol (p. 129) are conspicuous examples. In **bas-relief** there was a growing tendency to

introduce accessories, especially **landscape**, which must be attributed to the influence of the schools of painting : it is, unfortunately, seldom clear whether the reliefs which are preserved to us belong to this or to the succeeding age. The Room of the Philosophers (p. 116) contains some examples.

Towards the close of the period, when even the shadow of Hellenic independence had ceased to exist, it seemed as though the creative power of Greek artists was spent : **classicism** became the dominant tendency and continued to reign under the newly-founded Empire of Augustus. The motives of Attic sculpture—mostly of the fifth century—were copied or adapted to fresh needs. We can trace a succession of sculptors—PASITELES, the founder of the school, of whom we read in Pliny, STEPHANUS, his pupil, the artist of a statue in the Villa Albani based on a fifth-century athletic type, and Stephanus' pupil MENELAUS, to whom we owe the group of "**Orestes and Electra**" in the Ludovisi collection (p. 207). The colossal head of **Juno** in the same collection (p. 209) is the finest creation of this school, dating from the first century A.D. A singular fashion was the **imitation of Archaic Sculpture** by these "**Neo-Attic**" artists, especially in decorative work for the adornment of well-heads, candelabra, marble vases, etc. The **Capitoline Puteal** (p. 112) with a procession of Twelve Gods is a striking illustration of this.

In the meantime a **Roman national art** was brought to the birth. The first manifestation of it is seen in the **portrait busts** of Republican date, excellent examples of which may be seen in the Museo Chiaramonti (p. 313 f.), distinguishable at a glance by their hard features and unsparing realism even from the least ideal of Greek portraits. We see here the self-assertion of a spirit which had already found expression in Etruscan art (see above), and was wholly in harmony with the Roman national character. But in the cosmopolitan capital of the world its development was checked by the fashion which dictated the importation and imitation of Greek products ; the bronze "**Camillus**"

of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 144), though Roman in subject, is unmistakably a creation of the Neo-Attic school. And in **Augustan art**, filled as it is with the spirit of the New Empire—the traveller may study it in two of its masterpieces, the statue of **Augustus from Prima Porta** in the Braccio Nuovo (p. 322), and the reliefs of the **Ara Pacis** (p. 204)—the form is supplied by Greek classicism. In order to grasp the main outlines of the history of Roman art nothing is more instructive than the attentive study of the **Imperial portraits**¹, and not only those in the “Room of the Emperors” in the Capitoline Museum, where some periods are ill-represented. Thus the “**young Augustus**” of the Sala dei Busti (p. 293), the **Tiberius** of the Museo Chiaramonti (p. 316), the **statues from Cervetri** in the Lateran (p. 234), the **Claudius** of the Vatican Rotunda (p. 276), and the **Corbulo** of the Sala dei Filosofi (p. 118), may be taken as typical of the art which flourished under the first dynasty—somewhat cold, academic, and unprogressive; while the finest examples of Roman portraiture belong to the succeeding period of the Flavian emperors, and may be appreciated by examining the **Vespasian** of the “Museo delle Terme” (p. 200) and, above all, the so-called “**Mark Antony**” of the Braccio Nuovo. The merit of these works lies in the masterly skill with which the characteristic traits of the subject are emphasised without overloading of detail. This phase of art was short-lived; a harder style, recalling

¹ Note that the **shape** of a bust indicates the date of a portrait. Under Augustus and his dynasty only the collar-bone and a portion of the breast is shown; in the Flavian period we have the outline of the shoulders; under Trajan the armpit is included; under Hadrian part of the upper arm; and still more under the Antonines. In the following century half-lengths are found, but there is also a return to earlier forms. In using this criterion, the traveller must be careful to note whether head and bust are contemporary, i.e. whether the bust is **unbroken at the neck**, since a large number of the portrait-heads in Roman museums are set on busts which are either modern or, if ancient, of a different period from the head.

that of the Republican portraits, came into vogue under **Trajan**, and is illustrated by his portraits. **Hadrian**, whose features are familiar from the colossal bust in the Vatican Rotunda (p. 279), and many others—he set the fashion of wearing a beard, which furnishes a useful criterion of date—was a phil-Hellenist, and there was, as we shall see, a **return to classicism** under his rule. The portraits of his favourite **Antinous** show this tendency; but a singular innovation in portraiture which dates from this period, viz. the **plastic indication of the iris and pupil of the eye**, points in an entirely new direction. From the late Hellenistic period onwards there had been a tendency (see below) to overstep the conventional boundary between the spheres of painting and sculpture;¹ and from the middle of the second century A.D. onwards Roman sculptors devoted themselves to the search after effective contrasts of light and shadow, smooth and complex surfaces, etc., in which the influence of pictorial principles is shown. In portraiture this is manifest in the busts of the Antonine period, such as that of **Commodus** in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 139). After the fall of the dynasty of Septimius Severus—whose successor **Caracalla** is portrayed in a number of very remarkable busts—there was a gradual decline in art, as in material prosperity; but the Roman portrait-sculptors held their own, and created a new style which, with all its parsimony of *means* (the hair is merely blocked out and sprinkled with incised chisel-strokes) achieved the *end* which they kept before them, viz. the mercilessly faithful reproduction of the characteristic features, however repulsive, of their subjects. This practice dates from the time of Caracalla, but it culminates in the art to which we owe the wonderful portraits of **Philip the Arabian** in the Braccio Nuovo (p. 329), and of an **unnamed Roman** in the Sala delle Colombe (p. 109). There was a strange revival of something

¹ In this connection the growing use of **costly materials**, often difficult to work—such as porphyry, green basalt, and the like—for sculpture, should be noted. This practice marks the decline of true artistic feeling.

like the Antonine style under **Gallienus** (cf. p. 115); but the economic and political calamities which all but overwhelmed Rome in the middle of the third century A.D. gave the death-blow to naturalistic art. The **revival of the Imperial power** by **Diocletian** and **Constantine** brought into being a new state, ruled by naked despotism, a new society, held together by ties of hereditary caste, and a new art, in which the **Oriental** influence, which had lain at the root of the transformation beginning in the Antonine age, was completely triumphant. The Nearer East, with all its vast ingenuity in the elaboration of ornament, has never excelled in the representation of the human figure (which is, of course, deliberately shunned by the peoples who maintain the Judaic tradition); and works of the Constantinian and later periods, such as **colossal heads** in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (pp. 132, 145) and Room of the Emperors (p. 115), recall by their fixed, expressionless gaze, the "frontal" types, stiff and symmetrical, of the earliest Oriental sculpture. The **statues of magistrates** holding the *mappa* in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 140) are good examples of later Roman work.

Historical reliefs exhibit the same phases of development as portraiture, and are equally deserving of study. The **Ara Pacis Augustae** has already been mentioned: there is no monument of like importance which we can assign to the first hundred years of the Empire—the **relief from Cervetri** in the Lateran (p. 235) may be mentioned. In the Flavian period, however, we have the **Arch of Titus**, with its scenes from the Jewish triumph of the Emperor, conceived and executed with the supreme "art which conceals art," and some fragments in the museums (pp. 236, 303).¹ There are a number of monuments dating from the reign of **Trajan**, and illustrating the purely historical and thoroughly Roman sculpture of his time. Many of them belong to the Great Frieze which once adorned his Forum (p. 163); but

¹ The fine **circular panels** on the Arch of Constantine seem to belong to the Flavian epoch.

they are now scattered. Some slabs were used to decorate the **Arch of Constantine**: others are in the portico of the Villa Borghese; one is in the Villa Medici (see p. 190). Above all, there is the **Column of Trajan**, less technically perfect, but far more interesting as a historical document. Never again did Roman sculptors rise to the same height, inspired by the triumphs of Roman valour. The panels in the Palazzo dei Conservatori belonging to the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius are conventional and uninspired: and the most remarkable monument of the time is the **base of the Antonine Column** in the Giardino della Pigna (p. 331), where beside the apotheosis of the Emperor and his consort on the front, reproducing traditional motives in a "classicising" style, we find a new art endeavouring to find expression in the **cavalry manœuvres** of the sides. The **Column of Marcus Aurelius**, a direct imitation of that of Trajan, shows the development of these new principles; the oblong panels on the **Attic of the Arch of Constantine** are of the same date. But the sculptors of these monuments had lost their grasp of the true principles of relief—a crowd of detached figures does not produce the effect of a picture conceived as a whole and concentrated in space. The reliefs of the **Arch of Severus** show the rapid decline of this school. The third century has little to show in the field of historical sculpture; but the narrow bands of relief on the **Arch of Constantine**, illustrating the military exploits of that Emperor (perhaps also of Diocletian), should be studied as showing that in the Orientalised art of the new monarchy relief has become an ornamental adjunct of architecture with little substantive interest.

Most of the works described in the above summary are **public** in character; much might be written on the **private** art of the Imperial period, and especially on the **sarcophagi**. Cremation was the ordinary practice amongst the Romans of the Republic: the family of the Scipios were almost alone in retaining the old custom of burial, and hence we find the Sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus in the Vatican (p. 309). But under the Empire, and more especially

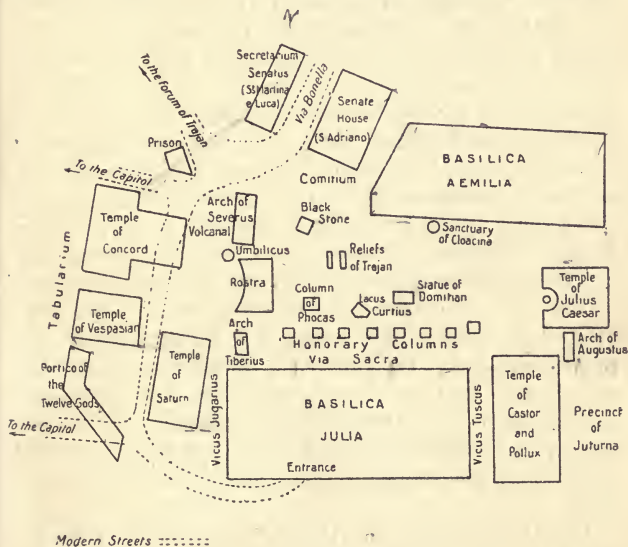
after A.D. 100, the dead were often interred—especially the wealthier ; and the Roman museums and palaces are rich in sarcophagi, usually adorned with scenes from Greek mythology, in which it is not always easy to trace even a remote allusion to the life beyond the grave. The sleep of Endymion or Ariadne may typify the slumber of death : the untimely end of Hippolytus is a natural subject : the prevalence of Dionysiac scenes is explained by the connection of Bacchic worship with the doctrine of immortality. It is not so easy to see why, for example, Achilles should be represented as he throws off his disguise and leaves the palace of Lycomedes (p. 107), unless it be that the scene recalls his choice of a short but glorious life. Scenes from the circus, with chariots driven by Cupids, must be taken as symbolical of the race of life : the Muses possibly indicate the literary pursuits of the dead. A few—but only a few—sarcophagi have historical subjects, such as the **battle of Greek and Gaul** in the Capitoline Museum (p. 106), a strange second-century sarcophagus in the Museo delle Terme (p. 219), and a very fine example of third-century art, probably dating from the time of Gordian III (A.D. 238–44) in the Ludovisi collection (p. 207). The sarcophagi of the third century are peculiarly valuable to us in the absence of monumental reliefs belonging to that period. Moreover, they illustrate the insensible **transition** which leads **from Roman to Early Christian Art** (see *Christian Rome*, p. 53 *sqq.*). On the Christian sarcophagi the cycle of Biblical subjects takes the place of that of Greek mythology : the symbolical meaning of the scenes does not always lie on the surface (as in the case of the Pagan sarcophagi) ; and the artistic principles are the same in both.

IV

THE FORUM

[T]HE hollow between the Palatine, the Capitol, and the spurs of the eastern hills was the natural centre of intercourse between the communities which occupied the heights; but until it had been drained, its marshy nature rendered it unfit to play the part for which it was destined. Tradition ascribed to Tarquinius Superbus, the last Etruscan king of Rome, the construction of the Great Sewer (*cloaca maxima*), which may still be traced from the Forum of Nerva (p. 155) to its outflow into the Tiber (p. 266). An existing stream was regulated and converted into an open drain, and by this means much of the boggy soil was reclaimed. Traces of the original marsh, however, long remained, and one of these—the Lacus Curtius—acquired a legendary importance which caused its memory to be preserved. The **Forum** proper was, as it still is, an **open space** unencumbered by buildings; it was first paved in the second century B.C. At its N.E. corner was the **Comitium**, the focus and centre of political life; it was overlooked by the **Senate house** and partly enclosed by a platform. These were traditionally ascribed to Tullus Hostilius. In the centre of the platform was a monument venerated as the **tomb of the legendary founder of Rome**, until in later times it was buried and its place marked by a pavement of black marble. Hard by was the **prison**, built according to tradition by Ancus Martius, which always remained modest in its dimensions since imprisonment as a punishment was foreign to Roman usage. Overlooking the

Comitium was the **precinct of Vulcan** with its rock-hewn altar ; **Saturn**, too, and his consort, Ops, were worshipped at the foot of the Capitol ; but the religious centre of early Rome lay at the opposite extremity of the Forum. Here was the sacred **hearth of Vesta**, tended in primitive times by the daughters of the **King**, whose house, the **Regia**, was close at hand ; here, too, the sacred spring of **Juturna**,



THE FORUM ROMANUM.

from which the Vestals drew water for ritual use. From the northern gate of the Palatine issued the **Sacred Way**, which, descending the slopes of the Velia, passed between the Regia and the shrine of Vesta, and was merged in the Forum.

To the early days of the Republic belong two **temples**, which after many restorations still present important remains of their former grandeur—that of **Saturn** at the feet of

the Capitol built in 497 B.C., and that of **Castor and Pollux**—the “Castores,” as the Romans called the Heavenly Twins—hard by the spring of Juturna, at which they were said to have watered their milk-white steeds when they brought the news of the victory of Lake Regillus to Rome (496 B.C.). In 366 B.C. the close of the long struggle between patricians and plebeians was signalled by the erection of a **temple of Concord** on the slope of the Capitol overlooking the Comitium; and the subjugation of the Latins in 338 B.C. by the Consul Gaius Mænius was commemorated not only by the adornment of the speaker’s platform with the beaks of the captured ships, whence it took the name of “**the Rostra**,” but by the erection in the Comitium of the “column of Mænius,” a monument which received its counterpart in 260 B.C., when Gaius Duilius, the first admiral of the Roman fleet, was allowed to set up the *Columna Rostrata*, a restoration of which, together with the inscription re-engraved under the Early Empire, may be seen in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 132). The Forum was by now **not so much a market-place as a business centre**. On either side of the piazza were rows of *tabernæ*, used by bankers and money-changers, and above them were galleries, likewise ascribed to the Mænius already mentioned, from which a crowd of spectators could watch the public or private games celebrated in the Forum itself.

The transformation of Rome under Greek influence which belongs to the second century B.C. (p. 9) left its mark upon the Forum. Strangely enough, it was Cato the Elder, who, in spite of his antipathy towards Greek culture, built (in 185 B.C.) the first of the *basilicæ*, or **Public Halls**, which were to become so conspicuous a feature of the Forum. The Basilica Porcia, as it was called, was at the foot of the Arx, i.e. at the N.W. corner of the Forum. In 179 B.C. the censors, M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior, built a second Basilica on the N. side of the piazza, and nine years later Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus added a third on the southern side.

In 145 B.C. the meetings of the Legislative Assembly of the people (*comitia tributa*) were transferred, at the instance of the tribune, C. Licinius Crassus, from the Comitium to the larger area of the Forum, and henceforward the speakers who mounted the Rostra turned their backs upon the Senate-house in order to face the multitude. Then the Forum became the scene of the fierce political strife which from the time of the Gracchi to the establishment of the Empire, raged without intermission. In 121 B.C., after the fall of Gaius Gracchus, the consul, L. Opimius, rebuilt the Temple of Concord, and Q. Fabius Maximus, the conqueror of the Allobroges in S. Gaul, set up a monumental archway close to the Regia, where the Sacred Way entered the Forum. Twice during the struggles of the succeeding century fire made havoc of its buildings. In 83 B.C. the Senate-house was destroyed and rebuilt by Sulla, and a few years later the Tabularium with its monumental arcade was built by Q. Lutatius Catulus. In 52 B.C., when the body of Clodius was burnt in the Comitium by the mob, the Senate-house once more perished in the flames and was rebuilt by Faustus Sulla, the son of the Dictator.

To Julius **Cæsar** we must trace the transformation by which the Forum received its present orientation and aspect. Even while campaigning in Gaul his brain conceived the plan of rebuilding the basilicæ to N. and S., transferring the seat of the popular assembly to the Campus Martius and building a second Forum to connect the two. The Rostra was to be moved to the western extremity of the Forum and placed at the foot of the Capitol, and a new Senate House was to be built. These plans were only partly carried out in the Dictator's lifetime, but carried to completion by Augustus. The **Basilica** and **Forum** which bore the **Julian** name were dedicated, though unfinished, in 46 B.C.; the **Basilica Æmilia**—on the northern side of the Forum—was not dedicated until 29 B.C. Augustus rebuilt the Senate House, raised the level of the Forum throughout, and set up a temple to the deified Julius at its eastern

extremity, which faced the **new Rostra**, and had its façade adorned in the same manner. The temples of Saturn, Concord, and the Castores were restored under his auspices, and a **triumphal arch** commemorating the restoration of the standards taken by the Parthians from Crassus was erected on the line of the Sacred Way.

Later emperors added but little to the adornment of the Forum. The temple built by Tiberius in honour of **Augustus** was hidden by that of the Castores, and the only sanctuary added to those immediately adjoining the Forum was the **temple of Vespasian** and Titus, which marked the central portion of the Tabularium. Two **triumphal arches** were built at the foot of the Capitol—to the west that of **Tiberius**, of which only the foundations remain ; to the east that of **Septimius Severus**.

In A.D. 283-4 a great conflagration once more devastated the Forum, and **Diocletian** thereafter finally rebuilt the Senate House in the form which, as the church of S. Adriano, still preserves. The bases of the columns, once crowned with honorary statues, which stand in front of the Basilica Julia, belong to the same period ; the column of Phocas is later by some three centuries. By this time the era of destruction had already begun.]

Descending from the Capitol by the Via dell' Arco di Settimio Severo (to the east of the Palazzo del Senatore) we find ourselves opposite to the arch of Septimius Severus on the road which skirts the northern edge of the Forum. Immediately to the L. is the church of S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami (or S. Pietro in Carcere). Below this church are the remains of the **Carcer** or prison, the building of which was ascribed by the Romans to Ancus Marcius. Christian tradition recognises in it the place of confinement of SS. Peter and Paul. From the portico of the church we can see the doorway of the prison, with an inscription set up by C. Vibius Rufinus and M. Cocceius Nerva (grandfather of the Emperor Nerva), consuls under Tiberius. From the sacristy we descend by a modern staircase to a vaulted chamber built of tufa (with some blocks of travertine) ; this is the

only part of the prison now accessible. Another staircase leads to the **Tullianum**, at a still lower level, which was only entered in ancient times by a hole in the roof. The name means "well-house" (from *tullus*=spring), and there is in fact a spring of water in its floor. The chamber has the shape of a horseshoe, and was originally roofed with a corbelled domical vault, resembling such primitive work as the so-called "Treasury of Atreus" and other graves at Mycenae. At a later date the upper portion of this cupola was removed, and replaced by a flat roof. The Tullianum was used as a place of execution. Here Jugurtha and Vercingetorix were put to death after being led in triumph; here, too, the Catilinarian conspirators were strangled by Cicero's orders. The flight of steps leading from the prison to the Capitol takes the place of the **Scalae Gemoniae**, or "**Stairway of Sighs**," where the bodies of criminals were exposed before they were drawn with a hook to the Tiber and cast into the river. Such was the fate which befel Sejanus and not a few of the emperors.

Farther to the L. are the churches of S. Martina and S. Adriano, between which the Via Bonella now runs. Until the sixteenth century they formed a single building, which included the Curia or Senate House (S. Adriano—see below, p. 51), the Secretarium Senatus (S. Martina), and the Atrium Minervae, or 'Court of Minerva,' a courtyard surrounded by porticos, which took its name from a chapel dedicated to Minerva by Domitian.

Turning to the R. we pass in front of the **Tabularium**, or Public Record Office, built by Q. Lutatius Catulus, the Consul of 78 B.C., and leader of the Conservative or "Optimate" party. It is easy to distinguish the original building with its massive wall of *sperone*—the finest example of Republican building—from the upper stories partly of mediæval construction, partly the work of Michel Angelo, which transformed it into the "Palazzo del Senatore." All the bays of the arcade which overlooked the Forum have been blocked save one, which is worthy of attention as illustrating the economy in the use of travertine practised

by Roman builders under the Republic. The columns are of *sperone*, the capitals and architraves of the more precious material. The Tabularium is entered from the Capitol, and the interior is described on p. 149 f.

Between the Tabularium and the modern road we see first the concrete foundations of the **Temple of Concord**, built by M. Furius Camillus in 366 B.C., on the conclusion of the struggle between the orders and the admission of plebeians to the consulship, restored by L. Opimius in 121 B.C., and again rebuilt by Tiberius in the reign of Augustus (A.D. 7-10). A still later restoration was commemorated by an inscription now lost. As rebuilt by Tiberius, the temple was oblong in form, the breadth being almost double of the depth ; in the middle of the front was a portico approached by a flight of steps. Tiberius filled the temple with masterpieces of Greek sculpture and painting. Its walls and pavement were decorated with costly marbles, some remains of which were found in 1817. The threshold, which is still preserved, was formed by enormous blocks of *portasanta*. A piece of the cornice may be seen in the Tabularium. Some of the richly ornamental column-bases are in the Museo Capitolino, and two capitals in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

Next to the temple of Concord was that of **Vespasian and Titus**, erected in A.D. 80. The base upon which the statues of the deified emperors stood may be seen at the back of the building. The three columns still standing, as well as the richly decorated frieze (adorned with bucrania and sacrificial instruments) and cornice, doubtless belong to the original temple, though the inscription partly preserved on the entablature and copied when still complete by a mediæval traveller records that the temple was restored by Septimius Severus and Caracalla.

In the angle formed by the Tabularium and the ascent to the Capitol, on the line of the ancient Clivus Capitolinus, is a portico of *cipollino* columns (those of travertine are the work of a modern restorer) with figured capitals representing trophies. A series of small chambers open on the

colonnade. These were, no doubt, the shrines of the twelve Olympian gods, for the building is identified by an inscription on the architrave as the *Porticus Deorum Consensuum*, or **colonnade of the assembled gods**, whose statues of gilded bronze are mentioned by Varro. The building was restored in the fourth century A.D. by Vettius Agorius Prætextatus, one of the latest champions of expiring paganism. Beneath it are seven chambers (*tabernae*) opening on to the narrow passage between the portico and the temple of Vespasian. Close to the W. end of the passage is a doorway in the ground floor of the Tabularium which was blocked up by the building of the temple. Notice the use of travertine for the flat arch which takes the place of a lintel.

On the opposite side of the road is the lofty substructure of the **Temple of Saturn**. The eight columns of red and grey granite still standing belong to a late restoration, as the inscription on the architrave records. The work was carelessly done : the bases of the columns are irregular in size, and one of the columns (no doubt taken from some other building) is inverted. The temple was originally built in 498 B.C., and restored in 42 B.C. by L. Munatius Plancus, to whose building the high podium of travertine seems to belong. In its vaults was housed the **public treasury** of Rome, or *aerarium Saturni*. This was rifled by Cæsar at the commencement of the Civil War, and found to contain 15,000 gold and 30,000 silver ingots and 30,000,000 sesterces (£300,000) of coined money.

Turning to the L. we soon reach the entrance to the excavations, and descending the slope enter the **Basilica Julia**, begun by Julius Cæsar and completed by Augustus, who was forced to rebuild it after a fire, and dedicated the restored structure in A.D. 12 to the memory of his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius Cæsar. It was again restored by Diocletian after the great fire of A.D. 283-4. The rows of dwarf brick piers, which have been set up in modern times, indicate clearly enough the ground plan of the building. It had a long central hall, measuring 82 by 18

metres, surrounded by a corridor and galleries opening on to the nave by a two-storeyed arcade, and lit by a clerestory. To the S. there was an outer corridor bordered by a row of chambers (*tabernae*) used by money-changers; on the N. the Basilica was approached from the Forum by a flight of steps and a portico with an arcade of two storeys. One of the lower piers has been restored in travertine, with an engaged half-column, in recent times. The aisles and galleries were vaulted and decorated in stucco; some fragments of this are preserved at the S.W. corner, where the ancient piers have been reinforced with modern brickwork. The nave was paved with coloured marbles—*giallo-antico*, *affricano* and *pavonazzetto*—of which some fragmentary slabs remain; the aisles had a pavement of white marble, upon which were scratched boards for games (*tabulae lusoriae*) with inscriptions, such as *vinces gaudes perdes plangis*, “the winner’s joy the loser’s tears,” and the like.

Close to the restored pier of the portico will be seen two pedestals bearing the name of Gabinius Vettius Probianus, city-prefect, in A.D. 416, who repaired the damage done to the Basilica by the Goths under Alaric, and beside it upon them rest the bases of statues described as “the work of Polyclitus” and “the work of Timarchus.” As to such inscriptions compare what is said on p. 196 about the Dioscuri of Monte Cavallo.

The Basilica Julia served not only as an exchange and a promenade for loungers, but also as a law court, where the *centumviri*, a jury of one hundred, usually divided into four panels for the trial of civil causes, held its sittings. Pliny the Younger mentions a *cause célèbre* in which he pleaded before a plenary session of the four panels, at which not only the nave of the Basilica, but also the galleries, were crowded with spectators.

In the Middle Ages the ruins of the Basilica were used as a rope-walk, and a small church built at the western end was called S. Maria in Cannapara (“in the rope-walk”); some remains of this church may be seen.

At either end of the Basilica we can trace the ancient streets by which the Forum was approached from the S.W.—to the W. the Vicus Jugarius or “street of the yoke-makers,” which followed the line of the modern Via della Consolazione at the foot of the Capitol, to the E. the Vicus Tuscus or “street of the Etruscans;” this latter passed between the Basilica Julia and the temple of Castor and Pollux, and continued beneath the slope of the Palatine to the cattle-market.

Along the front of the Basilica runs the Sacred Way, paved with polygonal blocks of lava. Excavations in the centre of the road have brought to light a series of rectangular pits lined with slabs of tufa. The bottom of these was left open, but the top was closed with a lid. Such pits have also been found in front of the Rostra, and in the line whose centre is occupied by the temple of Julius Cæsar; others, again, of earlier date and with a different orientation in the Comitium. Comm. Boni believes that they are “augural pits,” into which offerings were cast when the lines of the Comitium and Forum were marked out, so that those which we see in front of the Basilica Julia mark the complete change in orientation due to the execution of the Dictator’s plan (p. 45).

The seven unsightly **brick foundations** which stand on the edge of the Sacred Way were originally faced with marble and crowned with columns, two of which—one of *pavonazzetto*, the other of grey granite—were re-erected in 1899. They date from the time of Diocletian, and no doubt supported honorary statues. Passing the westernmost of these we cross the Forum, proceed directly to its N.W. corner, and approach the **Comitium**, originally the meeting place of all assemblies of the Roman people, but in later times only used for those of the thirty lictors who represented the *Comitia curiata*, which transacted certain formal business and passed Private Acts, such as adoptions. The church of S. Adriano, which overlooks it on the north, is the ancient Curia or Senate-house, rebuilt by Diocletian, and converted into a Christian church in the seventh

century A.D. The façade, which now displays bare brickwork, was once faced with marble slabs in the lower and stucco in the upper portion ; some fragments of the latter may be seen just below the cornice.

We can see at a glance how the accumulation of rubbish has gradually raised the level of the Forum. In front of the building is the concrete core of a flight of steps which led to the original doorway, which has been filled up with fragments of marble, porphyry columns, and inscriptions. On either side may be seen graves, one of which contains a skeleton, excavated in the brickwork after the raising of the ground level. The modern doorway, whose threshold takes the place of the lintel of the original entrance, belongs to the seventeenth century, when the ancient bronze doors were removed to the principal entrance of the Basilica of St. John Lateran, which they still adorn.

The enlargement of the Senate-house by Julius Cæsar considerably reduced the size of the Comitium. It has been excavated in several places down to the virgin soil, and something of its earlier history can be traced. Opposite to the door of the Senate-house is a **circular marble base**, which once supported a fountain, resting partly on the strip of marble pavement immediately in front of the Senate-house, partly on the travertine paving of the Comitium, which dates from the later Empire. If we stand here and look towards the Senate-house we see beneath our feet a small piece of **pavement** made of neatly squared slabs of **travertine**, whose orientation coincides almost exactly with the cardinal points of the compass ; this belongs to the **Republican Comitium** in its latest period. Below this again will be seen some remains of tufa steps leading down to an early pavement made of broken tufa ; these steps, which must belong to a very early period, are parallel with the front of the Senate-house. If we now turn our backs to Senate-house we see immediately to our right a pedestal originally set up in the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 154), but re-dedicated in the name of Maxentius (the opponent of Constantine at the battle of the Milvian Bridge) to "Father

Mars the Unconquered" and the founder of his "Eternal City" on April 21, the birthday of Rome. Below us on our left are the remains of a flight of tufa steps which led up to a raised platform ; they are interrupted by lozenge-shaped "augural pits," resembling those which we saw beside the Sacred Way. Returning to the line of the street we see the retaining wall of this platform in not quite regular *opus quadratum* made of narrow blocks of tufa, and turning to the right approach a zinc roof which covers a **pavement of black marble**, with a rude curb of white slabs on the level of the late pavement. It certainly belongs in its present form to late Imperial times, and was perhaps restored by Maxentius, but we cannot fail to connect it with the **Black Stone** (*lapis niger*) mentioned by the Roman antiquarians from the time of Varro onwards, which was said to mark the site of the tomb of Romulus, or, according to others, of Faustulus the shepherd, who brought up the twin founders of Rome. Beneath the black pavement a remarkable group of monuments was discovered in 1901. To the left we see two parallel bases of tufa with a carved moulding, between which is a small block of tufa resembling an altar. Behind these is a rectangular tufa platform. We are told by ancient authorities that two lions guarded the tomb of Romulus, and that this tomb was "on," "before," or "behind" the Rostra. It is natural to suppose that the parallel bases are those which supported the lions, and that the platform is part of the Rostra. Across the front of this group of monuments runs the lowest course of the flight of tufa steps already mentioned, and immediately to the right of the "tomb of Romulus" we see on a second step a truncated conical column of yellow tufa ; behind this is the lower part of a pyramidal pillar with bevelled edges, bearing an inscription engraved in extremely ancient characters, probably of the sixth or fifth century B.C. The inscription runs in vertical lines, alternately from top to bottom and bottom to top,¹ so that only the beginnings and

¹ This was termed in Greek *boustrophedon* ; the word denotes the movement of an ox ploughing in alternate furrows.

ends of certain lines can be read. Its meaning is quite obscure, but it certainly mentions the "King" (PECEI=*regi*), his *kalator* or "summoner," and his "carriages," *iouxmenta*. As the date of the inscription is undetermined, we cannot tell whether the King is one of the early rulers of Rome, or the *rex sacrorum*, who succeeded to his religious functions. Certain ceremonies were, we know, performed by the latter in the Comitium in historical times, and it is possible that the inscription refers to them.

The monuments just described were buried under a mass of sacrificial remains and votive offerings, ranging in date from the sixth to the first century B.C., mixed up in the utmost confusion. It follows that the materials were not deposited on the spot until the first century B.C., when (as we must infer from Varro's statement) the Black Stone was laid to mark the site. Julius Cæsar, it would seem, restored the pavement and probably raised its level: fragments of the marble of which it was made have been found in the underground corridors to be mentioned presently. The partial destruction of the monuments underlying the Black Stone must date from the time of their burial; and the difficulty of attributing such an act to the Romans of the first century has given rise to various theories—e.g. that the havoc was wrought by the Gauls in B.C. 390; but the supposition can hardly be reconciled with the conditions of the votive deposit, and the lion-tomb itself seems to be later than that date.

Leaving this group of monuments, we proceed to the N.W., observing the **curved drain** walled with *opus reticulatum* which marks the boundary of the Republican *comitium*. We may, perhaps, conceive of the original boundary as a **complete semicircle** (in the centre of which would be the Rostra), and thus understand what ancient writers mean when they speak of the "horns of the Comitium," marked by the statues of Pythagoras and Alcibiades, which were set up in obedience to an oracle of the Delphic priestess as "the wisest and bravest of the Greeks."

In the space immediately to the S. of the Black Stone are the remains of monuments of the later Empire. The most noticeable relic is a square base of white marble adorned on all sides with reliefs carved in the decadent style of the early fourth century A.D. The date is fixed by the inscription on the front—*Cæsarum decennalia feliciter*—which refers to the celebrations of A.D. 303, when the “Cæsars” Constantius and Galerius completed the tenth, and the “Augusti” Diocletian and Maximian the twentieth, year of their rule. The corresponding pedestal set up in honour of Diocletian and his colleague was found about 1500, but has been lost. Both originally stood in front of the Senate-house. The sculptures on the back and sides of the pedestal of the “Cæsars” are interesting as examples of the decline of art. They represent an Emperor sacrificing to Rome and Mars, a civil procession, and the pig, sheep, and ox of the *Suovetaurilia* being led to sacrifice. Note these last and compare them with the Trajanic reliefs presently to be described.

Between this base and the Black Stone are fragments of marble blocks which belonged to monuments set up in honour of Stilicho, the general of Honorius and opponent of Alaric. The name of Stilicho was erased after his fall and murder in A.D. 408.

Overlooking the Comitium on the W. was the **Area Volcani** (or Volcanal), i.e. the precinct sacred to Vulcanus, the god of destroying fire. Here, according to legend, Romulus convoked the Senate of the Fathers; here, too, before the building of the Rostra, magistrates addressed the assembled people. The virgin rock is here cut into rough steps, and a large platform or altar has been hewn in the tufa, covered with cement and painted red. It shows signs of having been damaged and restored. In order to reach this platform we pass through the **Arch of Septimius Severus**, built in A.D. 203 in honour of that Emperor and his sons Caracalla and Geta. The inscription on the attic can be read from the matrices, although the bronze lettering has disappeared. It will be seen that the last two letters of the third and the whole of the fourth line are cut deeper than

the rest and have taken the place of other words which have been chiselled out. These words gave the name and title of Geta, the younger son of Severus, who was murdered by his elder brother Caracalla in A.D. 211; they were then erased and the titles "Father of the fatherland, best and bravest of princes" added to those of Severus and Caracalla. The reliefs of the arch, especially those of the piers above the sidebays, illustrate the decadence of art after the Antonine period, and the development of "bird's-eye perspective" (p. 184) until the relief almost resembles a map. The subjects are taken from the Oriental campaigns of Severus, who in A.D. 193 attacked the Parthian and Arab allies of his rival, Pescennius Niger, and annexed Mesopotamia to the Empire, and in A.D. 198-9 invaded Parthia and captured its two capitals, Ctesiphon and Seleucia; but the interpretation of its details has not as yet been attempted with success. The reliefs which adorn the pedestals of the eight composite columns which flank the bays of the arch represent Oriental prisoners led in chains by Roman legionaries. Like many other triumphal arches, that of Severus was not intended for traffic and was approached by a flight of steps leading to the central passage: under the later Empire the level of the Forum in front of the arch was lowered, and three longer flights were constructed as approaches to the three bays. We can see how the travertine foundations of the arch, which thus became exposed, were faced with marble slabs.

To the S. of the arch of Severus are the remains of the **Rostra** as rebuilt in Imperial times. The removal of the Rostra from the Comitium to the Forum was part of Julius Cæsar's great scheme of reconstruction; but it was not carried out in his lifetime. The building which we now see consists of two parts. In front we have a rectangular platform built of *opus quadratum* in tufa, which has been restored in modern times in order to receive the marble cornice which can be largely pieced together from extant fragments. In the front may be seen the holes in which the ship's prows which formed

the conventional ornament of this and—as we shall see—other platforms were fixed. The façade was divided into compartments by bronze pilasters and frames ; a ship's prow was placed in the centre of each compartment and another fixed in the centre of each pilaster. At the Northern end of the platform a rudely built extension will be noticed ; this is partly formed of architectural members taken from other buildings and roughly hacked into shape. It dates from A.D. 470, as an inscription shows, and was perhaps raised in order to restore the symmetry of the Forum which had been impaired by the erection of honorary columns on its southern side. Passing to the back of the Rostra we see the remains of the travertine piers and back wall of brick by which the platform was supported, and observe how these supports were strengthened in late times by additional brickwork. The reason of this was that the platform became overweighted by honorary statues. Some idea of its appearance is given by a bas-relief on the Arch of Constantine, described on p. 253. Behind the rectangular platform is a semicircular structure, faced in its Northern half only with slabs of *porta santa* divided by pilasters of *Affricano*, resting on a marble plinth upon whose blocks letters of the Greek alphabet are inscribed. These letters do not form a continuous series, and it is clear that the blocks were removed from some other building. It will also be noticed that at the angle next to the Arch of Severus the plinth has been hacked away in order to fit that of the side-wall of the Rostra. The relation of the two buildings is best explained as follows. The hemicycle was planned by Cæsar and completed by Augustus : it was approached (as may be seen from the back) by a flight of steps at the base of the Capitol, and served to carry the Rostra until the time of the Flavian Emperors, or possibly Trajan, who built the rectangular platform adjoining and connected with it. Until the time of Septimius Severus this was still approached by the curved flight of steps at the back : but when that Emperor built his triumphal arch he unroofed part of the platform, forming a small court of irregular shape, gave to

the exposed portion of the hemicycle its marble facing and built a stairway from the open court to the platform above.

At the northern end of the hemicycle are the remains of a large circular pedestal in brick-faced concrete ; the monument which it bore was the **Umbilicus Urbis Romæ**, or "Navel of the City of Rome," marking its ideal centre, which is mentioned in the fourth-century descriptions. It was long supposed that the "**Golden Milestone**" set up by Augustus, upon which the distances from Rome to the principal cities of the empire were given, stood at the other extremity of the hemicycle, since it was known to have been below the Temple of Saturn : but no remains of it were found there. What we do see is a small paved court, which can be identified (by means of an inscription discovered in the sixteenth century and since destroyed) as the **Schola** or office of the **curule ædiles**. It has been called the *Schola Xantha*, since a certain A. Fabius Xanthus was one of its builders.

Behind this court may be seen a row of low arcades faced with carefully jointed *opus incertum*—almost regular enough to be called *opus reticulatum* : the vaulted chambers under these arcades have a pavement of pounded brick. These arcades have been supposed to represent the Rostra as first reconstructed accord to Julius Cæsar's plan ; but they are in reality a viaduct built to support the **Clivus Capitolinus**—the winding street which prolonged the Sacred Way and gave access to the Capitol. Its pavement is well preserved below and in front of the Temple of Saturn ; the viaduct was probably built when the temple was restored and enlarged by Plancus (in 42 B.C.).

At the S. end of the arcades are the foundations of the **Arch of Tiberius**, built to commemorate the recovery of the eagles lost in the disaster which befell Varus in A.D. 9. The Sacred Way did not pass through the arch, but curved slightly to the N. in order to avoid it.

As we turn eastwards and approach the centre of the Forum we pass the **Column of Phocas**, resting on a pedestal with nine steps. This is the "column with the

buried base" of Byron's poem. The inscription (discovered in 1811) shows that Smaragdus, the "exarch" or governor of the Byzantine possessions in Italy, set up on the column a statue of the Emperor Phocas in A.D. 608. Phocas was a tyrant of low origin and abominable cruelty; he presented the Pantheon to Boniface IV (p. 174). The column, however, existed before his time, and was probably erected in honour of Diocletian. The steps of the pedestal were added by Smaragdus, and are made of materials taken from the surrounding buildings.

In the centre of the Forum Piazza will be seen a number of apertures giving access to the **subterranean corridors**, which intersect at right angles, forming a chess-board pattern. These are very carefully finished in concrete and tufa, and the vaulted chambers at the intersections, in the roofs of which are the openings, contained wooden frames for small lifts raised by pulleys, which were worked by windlasses standing in the corridors. We know that Julius Cæsar celebrated games in the Forum and covered it with an awning, and there can be little doubt that the passages and trap-doors were used to raise wild beasts, gladiators, etc. After Cæsar's time games were no longer held in the Forum, and the corridors were found to be choked with earth containing no fragments later than the time of Augustus.

In 1903 the ground to the E. of the Column of Phocas was explored, and part of the pyramid enclosing the base of the column was removed. In the travertine pavement were found incised some letters (originally filled with bronze) of an inscription—part of which had long been exposed but unnoticed—giving the name of the prætor, L. Nævius Surdinus, who probably lived under Augustus. This gave the clue to the remains found in this part of the Forum. The foundations of walls nearest to the Column of Phocas are those of the **prætor's tribunal**, upon which the yearly edict which regulated so much of Roman legal procedure was exposed. In the unpaved square to the N. stood the **statue of Marsyas and the fig-tree** seen in

the sculptured representations of the Forum shortly to be described. Finally, the name of Surdinus is also found on the back of the relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 133), which shows Mettus Curtius plunging into the abyss called the **Lacus Curtius**. Now to the E. of the tribunal is a piece of travertine paving enclosed by a curb within which is a twelve-sided foundation of tufa ; and this must clearly be the the traditional site of the **Lacus Curtius**, originally a marshy pool, to which various legends were attached. One of these told how Mettus Curtius, the leader of the Sabine host in battle with Romulus, plunged with his horse and was rescued with difficulty. The best-known legend is that which tells how, in 362 B.C., M. Curtius plunged into a chasm which suddenly opened in the Forum, and thus saved the city ; this version is depicted on a relief found in 1553 and preserved in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. A more prosaic story is that of Varro, according to which the consul of 445 B.C., C. Curtius, placed a *puteal* or well-head on the spot, in order to mark (according to the usual custom) the spot where a thunderbolt had fallen. Such a well-head existed in the time of Augustus, and offerings of coin were yearly placed therein by the people, with prayers for the welfare of the Emperor.

Near the Lacus Curtius, in the centre of the Forum, may be seen a large foundation of concrete, filled with lumps of travertine, which shows very clearly how such structures were raised by Roman builders (see p. 16). In the upper surface are three travertine sockets, and towards the eastern end is a kind of box or cist lined with slabs of travertine. This foundation undoubtedly supported the colossal **equestrian statue of Domitian** described by the poet Statius. In the travertine sockets three of the horse's feet were made fast ; the fourth was raised. The statue, which must have been about six times life-size, was destroyed on the death of Domitian. When the travertine cist was opened it was found to contain five very archaic vases, resembling those found in the early necropolis not far distant (p. 76). The vases contained (besides fragments of pitch and tortoise-

shell) a small gold nugget; and Comm. Boni reminds us that nuggets of the precious metals were deposited in the foundations of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus when it was rebuilt by Vespasian. He believes that vases of archaic type continued to be manufactured for such purposes even in Imperial times; but it is not unlikely that the vases were found in an early grave which came to light when the foundation was laid, and were retained from superstitious motives as near as might be to their place of discovery.

In the northern part of the piazza the most conspicuous objects are the two *plutei* or **balustrades**, which have been mounted on brick bases at the spot where they were found. It is commonly held, but is incapable of proof, that they were originally designed for the platform of the Rostra, and found their way to their present position in the course of the Middle Ages. On one face of each slab are represented the three animals—sheep, pig, and ox—which were immolated in the solemn sacrifice of purification (*suovetaurilia*)^a offered on various occasions. They are adorned with fillets and garlands. On the opposite faces are depicted two scenes with architectural backgrounds, taken from the Forum itself. That which is best preserved shows an emperor (whose head is lost) standing upon a platform adorned with ships' prows, and addressing a group of citizens. Behind them we see a base, supporting (as it would appear) a statuary group formed by a seated emperor and a woman holding a child on her left arm and leading another. This indicates the subject of the emperor's oration, which relates to the charitable endowments known as the *Alimenta*, by which the revenues derived from loans to landowners, secured by mortgages, were applied to the maintenance of necessitous children. These endowments seem to have been planned by Nerva, but the system was hardly in working order before Trajan's reign; it seems likely, therefore, that the seated statue represents Nerva and the standing figure Trajan. At the end of the relief are seen a fig-tree and a figure of Marsyas bearing a wine-skin; the background is formed by a Basilica and a Corinthian temple

between which is an open space. On the extreme L. is an archway. The second relief is less perfectly preserved : at its right-hand extremity we can just see the ships' prows, which show that here, too, the emperor was represented upon a platform. The fig-tree and statue of Marsyas are also repeated at the other end of the scene, which is filled by a group of men bearing large tablets, which they are throwing down in a pile at the emperor's feet : these represent the registers of taxes due to the Imperial treasury on inheritances, which Trajan remitted. Here, again, a basilica is the principal object in the background ; to the R. of it are seen two temples, between which is an arch. There can be scarcely any doubt that the Rostra, the temples of Vespasian and Saturn, and the Basilica Julia are here represented : and in the foreground we see the fig-tree and the statue of Marsyas, which (as we have seen) stood near the Prætor's tribunal. As to the other reliefs two views are possible. According to one, the N. side of the Forum is here shown with the Rostra and the Senate-house and the Basilica Æmilia, but the position of the fig-tree and Marsyas would then be hard to explain. It seems better to regard the Rostra here portrayed to be those which decorated the Temple of Julius Cæsar (see below), the Corinthian building as the Temple of the Castores, and the Basilica as the remaining half of the Basilica Julia, forming a continuous scene with the other relief. The monument has been dated in the reigns of Domitian and Hadrian, but the scenes are in either case less easily explained, and the style of the reliefs accords well with the Trajanic dating.

Along the N. side of the Forum runs a road parallel with the Sacred Way, and on the N. edge of this may be seen a circular foundation with a marble plinth. This stands just above the junction of two sewers, one of which—that which comes from the W.—is the **Cloaca Maxima** itself ; and a coin-type enables us to identity the circular base as that of the sanctuary of **Venus Cloacina**, the Goddess of Sewers. This divinity was symbolically regarded as the Purifier, and tradition told how Romans

and Sabines had "purged themselves" of their enmity and set up this sanctuary. No trace has been found of the famous **Temple of Janus**, a passage with double doors, closed only when Rome was at peace with the world, which cannot have been far from this point.

The chapel of Cloacina stands at the foot of the steps which lead up to the **Basilica Æmilia**, the history of which has been traced on page 44 f. Like the Basilica Julia, it had a two-storeyed arcade opening on the Forum, but its plan was very different. Immediately behind the arcade was a row of *tabernæ* or shops with party-walls of tufa, and behind these again was the great hall of the Basilica, which was divided by three ranges of columns into a central nave and three aisles, two on the N. side and one on the S. Many fragments of the columns, which were of *affricano*, as were also those of smaller diameter which belonged to the upper galleries of the aisles, may be seen within the building. The main entrance was, no doubt, from the side of the **Argiletum**, a street which passed between the Basilica Æmilia and the Senate-house and led to the busy quarter of the Subura. Through a hole in the floor of the hall may be seen a drain previously constructed with blocks of travertine. The hall is paved with blocks of *giallo antico*, *affricano*, *cipollino*, *pavonazzetto*, and *portasanta*, and shows traces of fire ; in one place a heap of molten bronze coins may be seen, some of which can be identified and belong to the fourth century A.D., so that the Basilica may have been damaged in the sack of Alaric (A.D. 410). In any case, it was restored in the fifth century, when the façade was completely altered. In place of the lower storey of the arcade, with its massive travertine piers, was set up a row of granite columns at much shorter intervals, resting on rudely worked bases : three of these may be seen towards the eastern end of the Basilica, where the portico had a projecting wing. In the Dark Ages this end of the building was converted into a dwelling-house, whose chambers were paved with *opus Alexandrinum* of *giallo antico* and red and green porphyry. In some of these are

now preserved architectural fragments which belonged to the Basilica in its earlier form, amongst which are two beautiful door-jambs worked with acanthus foliage in low relief.

Facing the easterly projecting wing of the Basilica Æmilia is the concrete core of the podium upon which stood the **Temple of Julius Cæsar**, built by Augustus at the eastern end of the Forum. No remains of the temple itself exist, but in the centre of the podium is a semi-circular niche containing the remains of a round altar. This has been deliberately destroyed and the niche roughly blocked up with a wall of tufa blocks—doubtless in Christian times, when it was desired to put an end to the worship of Julius Cæsar, whilst retaining the temple as an historical monument. The façade was adorned in antiquity with ships' prows, and, under the name of *Rostra Julia*, formed a pendant to the original Rostra at the western end of the Forum. To the S. of the temple are the travertine foundations of an arch with three bays, identified as the **Arch of Augustus**, built in commemoration of the restitution by the Parthians of the standards taken from Crassus at Carrhæ in B.C. 53. The foundations rest upon a road neatly paved with blocks of lava. Between these foundations and the Temple of Castor and Pollux were found "augural pits" lined with travertine, making the Eastern limit of the Forum according to Cæsar's plan.

At the S.E. corner of the piazza rises the **Temple of Castor and Pollux**, dated by tradition to B.C. 484, and built in honour of the Heavenly Twins who, in B.C. 496, conveyed to Rome the news of the victory gained by Postumius over the Latins at Lake Regillus, and watered their horses at the neighbouring spring of Juturna. We know that the temple was restored in 117 B.C., and again under Augustus, when it was rebuilt by Tiberius and dedicated in the name of himself and his brother Drusus in A.D. 6; nor was this, probably, the latest of its restorations. If we examine the podium we can trace remains of different periods in its construction. Originally, as it would seem, it was built of *cappellaccio*—

soft grey-green tufa, only used at an early date by the Romans—of which only a few courses are exposed. Then this was encased in concrete with a facing of tufa blocks, and we can distinguish various periods of restoration by means of the materials used for filling the cement—first tufa only, then tufa and travertine; pozzolana, again, was not used in the making of the earlier concrete. It is interesting, too, to note that immediately under the columns, where the pressure was greatest, travertine was used instead of tufa. Between these piers were chambers in which treasure was deposited. In front of the temple was a platform decorated with ships' beaks—a third Rostra—and approached by staircases at either corner. Three columns of the temple are still standing, and many fragments of the entablature and cornice have been discovered. They are very finely worked, and it is doubtful whether they should be attributed to the restoration of Tiberius or to the time of Hadrian. If we climb to the top of the podium we can distinguish a pavement of black and white mosaic, of which a small fragment is preserved, from a later one at a higher level, made of coloured marbles (not now visible).

Following the Vicus Tuscus (p. 51) between the Temple of Castor and the Basilica Julia, we notice that the street was originally paved, not with lava as it is at the higher level, but with small cubes of brick. We soon reach a huge and unsightly ruin, once a large rectangular hall with niches in its walls, approached by a vestibule six metres deep, having a large niche at each end. The description of Caligula's bridge from Palatine to Capitol (see below, p. 93) makes it practically certain that this was the **Temple of Augustus**, built by Tiberius, and restored (after a fire) by Domitian. It contained statues—doubtless placed in the niches—of the various deified members of the Julio-Claudian house. We also hear of a Library attached to this temple, and it is plausibly conjectured that this is represented by the church of **S. Maria Antiqua**, described in *Christian Rome* (p. 184, ff., Plan xvi.). The present building seems to date from the reign of Domitian. In the forecourt may be seen a rect-

angular basin to which a flight of steps leads down, and as this makes an angle of about 30 degrees with the walls of the court and is partly buried under the foundations of the nave of the church, it was no doubt the *impluvium* of a house attached to the Imperial residence on the Palatine (with which the later building is connected by a ramp).¹ Here, no doubt, Domitian built the "sanctuary of Minerva behind the temple of Augustus" in which were set up the bronze tablets containing the names of the time-expired auxiliary soldiers who obtained Roman citizenship on their discharge. The nave and sanctuary of the church formed the Library.

Close to the church is the **Chapel of the Forty Martyrs** (see *Christian Rome*, p. 189), an ancient building whose destination is unknown; and adjoining it are a group of monuments which belong to the next division of our subject.

Beyond the temple of Augustus is a small piazza paved with travertine, upon which stand the remains of very late buildings. *Tabernae*, used as shops or offices, open on to it on two sides; beneath the slope of the Palatine these are in two storeys. They have been identified with the "warehouses of Germanicus" mentioned in the descriptions of Rome.

¹ On Sundays, when the excavations of the Forum and Palatine are free to the public, visitors can pass from the one to the other by a wicket-gate at the top of this incline.

V

THE SACRED WAY AND ITS MONUMENTS

[THE road which connected the Palatine settlement with the Forum bore the name of the **Sacred Way**.

The Romans explained the name by the legend that after the battle between Romulus and the Sabines under Titus Tatius a peace was here confirmed by solemn sacrifices. But a sufficient explanation is to be found in the fact that just as the Forum was the centre of Rome's political life, so the Sacred Way was the focus of the State religion. This religion was the counterpart of that of the agricultural household, and its rites were administered not by a priestly caste, but by members of the Roman aristocracy, who performed in the larger unit of the State the functions of family worship. At the head of the State Church stood in origin the king, and when kingship was abolished a "king of sacrifices" (*Rex sacrorum*) was appointed in his stead. His official residence was on the Velia, where, according to tradition, two of the Roman kings—Ancus Martius and Tarquinius Superbus—had had their abode. But it was also told how Numa Pompilius, to whom the organisation of the State-worship was in large measure ascribed, had inhabited a "palace" (*Regia*) on the Sacred Way, but had afterwards resigned it to the Chief Priest (*Pontifex maximus*) as his residence. In point of fact, the Regia of historical times was not the residence of the Pontifex Maximus, but a precinct containing various shrines connected with the worship of the primitive agricultural community, which was

carried on by the College of Priests of which the Pontifex Maximus was the head, and which counted amongst its members the chief of the Flamines, who were the priests of special divinities. The Pontifex Maximus inhabited the "public house" (*domus publica*), which was on the opposite side of the Sacred Way; and close by was the precinct of Vesta, the hearth-goddess of the State-household, whose fire was tended by the Six Virgins who represented the daughters of Rome. Hard by their dwelling was the **Holy Spring of Juturna**, from which they drew water for domestic and ritual use. It is at this point that our description begins.]

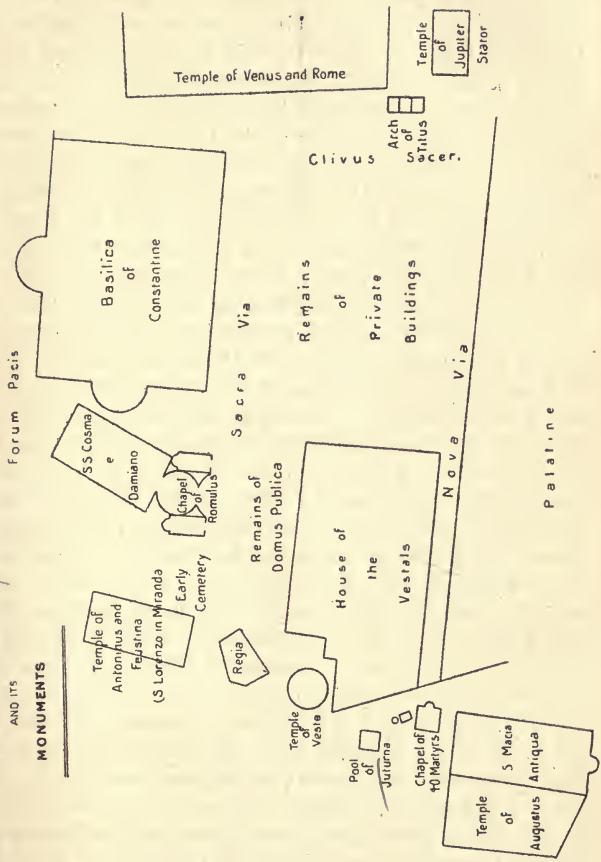
Immediately adjoining the N. wall of the Chapel of the Forty Martyrs, and set at an angle therewith, is a little shrine of brickwork, in front of which are the bases of two columns: on the architrave, which is partly preserved, and has been set up above the back wall of the shrine, was inscribed IVTVRNAI SACRVM—'Sacred to Juturna.' Juturna was in origin simply one of the many spring nymphs worshipped by the Romans, and belonged to the pre-mythical period. Not until the habit of story-telling had been borrowed from Greece did she find a place in the national epic as the sister of Turnus, prince of the Rutuli, in which guise she appears in Virgil's *Æneid*. Immediately in front of the chapel stands a marble well-head, bearing an inscription which tells us that it was restored by the Curule ædile, M. Barbatius Pollio, possibly to be identified with a person mentioned in Cicero's *Philippics* as a partisan of Mark Antony. The ropes by which the buckets of water were hauled up have worn deep grooves in the edge of the well-head. It must have continued in use until very late times, for a slab of marble and an altar of the third century A.D. with a relief showing a woman addressing a soldier (perhaps Juturna and Turnus) were placed as steps beside it in order that the buckets might be drawn up with greater ease.¹ The well-head does not in fact stand over a spring, but over a shaft connected by a lead pipe with the actual spring of Juturna,

¹ This altar has now been set upright on the lower step.

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which in Imperial times was enclosed in a tank—the Lacus Juturnæ—lined with slabs of marble. In the centre of this tank is a rectangular pedestal built of *opus reticulatum*, faced with marble, which may have carried statues of Castor and Pollux, who were said to have watered their horses at the spring. A travertine foundation which originally enclosed a somewhat larger space than the present pool marks the earlier limit of the Lacus, and in late times it was made still smaller by the erection of a large brick archway and wall. At the bottom of the pool was found a marble altar, which has been set up beside it; it is adorned with reliefs, which represent, on the narrow ends, Jupiter and Leda (with the Swan); on the broad sides, Castor and Pollux and a female divinity holding a torch, who must be identified, if we keep to the Greek myth, with Helen conceived as a moon-goddess. The water of the spring was believed to possess healing qualities, and the votive offerings found in the precinct show that women resorted to Juturna for protection in childbirth (the name Juturna was interpreted as “the helper”—so that a goddess of childbirth may perhaps be represented on the altar). Many fragments of sculpture have been found in or near the pool; amongst them parts of life-size statues of the Dioscuri. These have been placed in the small rooms at the back of the pool, which support an inclined way leading up to the N. angle of the Palatine. In one of the rooms was found a statue of Æsculapius, and there is reason to think that resort was made to the spring by sick persons on account of the medicinal qualities which it was supposed to possess. The rooms also served as offices for the commissioners of the water-supply (*curatores aquarum*), several of whose inscriptions were found therein. In one of them will be seen a collection of votive offerings, etc., found in the pool itself, amongst them a large number of glass cups, showing that the water was taken in small doses.

Turning to the R. at the N. end of the precinct of Juturna we see the circular podium which once supported the **Temple of Vesta**, which contained the hearth-fire or

the Roman community, extinguished only on the first of March in each year and then rekindled by the Pontifex Maximus by means of a primitive fire-drill, and also a secret recess, the *penus Vestæ*, in which certain symbolical objects, such as the Palladium, were kept hidden from the public gaze. It should not, strictly speaking, be called a temple, since it was not consecrated as such, and contained no statue of the divinity to whom it belonged ; neither had it the four-square form of the *templum*, but was circular in shape, in this respect faithfully preserving the form of the primitive wattled hut in which the hearth-fire of the community was kindled ; it was, in fact, simply "the House of the Hearth." Even in historical times it was probably rebuilt in something like its original shape when, as in 241 B.C. and 210 B.C., it was destroyed by fire ; under the Empire it assumed the form of a peripteral temple surrounded by twenty columns, between which were bronze gratings. The columns stood on pedestals, and the entrance was by a flight of steps on the E. The dome was crowned—as the coin-types show—by a kind of chimney in the form of a flower. If we ascend the podium by the steps formed of tufa blocks, upon which marble slabs once rested, we see in the centre of it a deep pit, whose walls are partly preserved on three sides, lined below with *opus incertum* and above with brick. In the walls of the podium we can distinguish three layers of concrete, which correspond with the successive restorations of the temple. The last of these was the work of Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, and was undertaken in consequence of the destruction of the temple by the great fire of A.D. 192. To this final rebuilding we must assign the fragments of the columns, entablature, and coffered roof of the portico, which are to be seen near the temple. The frieze was adorned with sacrificial emblems. It will be noticed that between the topmost layer of concrete (filled with blocks of yellowish tufa), and that immediately below it there is a stratum of débris and marble chips ; these prove that the temple was hastily restored after its destruction by fire. The central pit is the *favissa*, into which the

ashes of the sacred fire were allowed to fall ; only once a year, on the 15th of June, was the pit emptied and the rubbish removed to the Altar of Plenty (*Ops*) in the Capitol, where they served as a fertility-charm. The day is marked in the Calendars Q St. D.F. (*Quando stercus delatum fas*), i.e. "a holiday until the rubbish has been removed."

The "House of Vesta" only occupied a small space in the precinct of that goddess, which was surrounded by a wall faced with fine marble cement (*opus albarium*) of which some traces can be seen. The greater part of the precinct was, under the later Empire, occupied by the **House of the Vestals** (*Domus Virginum Vestalium*); and this grew gradually from modest dimensions to an elaborate cloistered building. The precinct also contained a grove (*Lucus Vestæ*) and the "Public House" (*domus publica*), inhabited by the Pontifex Maximus, who, as head of the State family, was technically the father of the Vestal Virgins. We enter the house of the Vestals by a doorway on our R. as we leave the temple, noticing to the R. of the entrance a small shrine in which a statue of the goddess once stood, and find ourselves in a large rectangular court—the **Atrium Vestæ**—originally surrounded by a colonnade of forty-eight Corinthian columns of *cipollino*, and an upper story with columns of *breccia corallina*. Only the travertine bases of the lower arcade are preserved, together with some fragments of the columns ; two whole columns of *breccia* and several fragments may be seen beside the S. wall. In the floor of the court are three water-tanks (*impluvia*) ; that in the centre is partly buried under the foundations of an octagonal structure—whether shrine, fountain, or arbour is quite uncertain. Beside the westernmost tank may be seen some remains—a pavement in mosaic and another in tufa—of the earlier Atrium : the present building is probably due in its general plan to Hadrian, but was much restored by Septimius Severus after the fire of A.D. 192. At the western end of the Atrium are various store-rooms and a bakery containing two ovens ; these may be entered by a doorway opposite to the southern side of the Aedes Vestæ. In the

S.W. angle of the building is a suite of rooms, one of which ends in an apse. It has been thought that these may have been the Penetralia, where sacred objects were kept in the custody of the Vestals.

The rooms opening on the court to N. and S. were the living-rooms of the Vestals. Those upon the S. side, being built against the slope of the Palatine and cut off from the sunlight by the lofty buildings which towered upon the hill, were damp and unwholesome ; and to remedy this double walls and floors were built in the third century A.D. In some of the rooms, where the later floor has been removed, costly pavements of coloured marble belonging to an earlier period have been brought to light. They are made of *giallo antico*, *pavonazzetto*, and *portasanta*.

Beyond these chambers we come to a kitchen and a room containing a mill, in which the corn used by the Vestals was ground. There are also remains of staircases leading to an upper storey containing bathrooms. The number of storeys in the Atrium is not quite certain, but in any case its height was not the same in all parts, and it was for this reason that the colonnade was built in two storeys, in order to mask the irregularities of the building. In one of the inner wall-spaces was found a hoard of nearly four hundred gold coins, almost all of the fifth century A.D., hidden about A.D. 470, in the troublous times which preceded the fall of the Western Empire. The Vestals had been expelled from their cloister by Theodosius the Great in A.D. 394, and the Atrium had become the residence of some Imperial official.

At the eastern end is a hall corresponding with the Tablinum in the typical Roman house, approached by a flight of steps : both the eastern end of the corridor, and the Tablinum itself, were paved with coloured marbles. Three rooms open out of the Tablinum on either side, and in one of those to the S. may be seen a number of jars, which served to form a hypocaust. The rooms on the N. side of the Court are not well preserved and of little interest. Statues of the Senior Vestals (*Virgines Vestales Maximæ*) were set up on pedestals all round the Atrium. Several of

these are preserved, as well as fragments of the statues which they supported. The best preserved have, however, been removed to the Museo delle Terme (p. 214). Amongst the inscriptions on the pedestals is one (the third from the S.W. corner of the Atrium) in which the name of the Vestal is erased, except for the letter C. The date of the inscription is June 9, A.D. 364, and it is often said that the name erased was that of the Vestal Claudia, who, according to Prudentius, embraced Christianity and entered the Convent of S. Lawrence (at S. Lorenzo fuori le mura); but it seems that the name must have contained at least nine letters. Perhaps, however, the poet's "Claudia" is a fancy name.

On leaving the Atrium we turn to the R., where, at the back of the N. wall we see a row of *tabernæ*, which were probably let as shops. Beneath the floor of these remains of an earlier building with a different orientation have been brought to light. It is supposed that this was the **Domus Publica**, in which the Pontifex Maximus had his residence until Augustus assumed that office in 12 B.C., when he presented it to the College of Vestals, and in order to satisfy traditional scruples conveyed a part of his palace on the Palatine to public uses. The atrium of the house, with a deep *impluvium*, and the *tablinum* with an apse and mosaic pavement, can be distinguished, as well as a room with a wall-painting of trees and birds on a background of blue sky; the same style of decoration was found in the Villa of Livia *ad Gallinas* at Prima Porta.

It is certain that the precinct of Vesta was approached by the Sacred Way, but not so clear whether that name properly belongs to the narrow road passing along its north-western corner and separating it from the **Regia**, rather than to the broader street to the N. of this building. If this latter be the true *Sacra Via*, its course must have been altered by the building of the Temple of Julius Cæsar.

The remains of the Regia are those of a building of irregular pentagonal shape, with sides fronting both branches of the road. Scarcely anything remains but the foundations; but these enable us to distinguish the republi-

can building, with pavements of tufa, from that raised by Cu. Domitius Calvinus, who rebuilt the Regia in solid marble in 36 B.C. Upon the marble walls were engraved in double panels the *Fasti Consulares*, or lists of consuls from the beginning of the Republic until the foundation of the Empire; and on the pilasters which diversified the walls were inscribed the *Fasti Triumphales*, or list of triumphs celebrated in Rome, together with their occasions. Many of the blocks containing these lists were found in 1546, and conveyed to the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 136); others have been discovered in recent times. In the early Middle Ages the Regia was transformed into a private house. A doorway (by which the building is now entered) was rudely hacked in the narrow eastern wall, and on the N. side the house was approached by two steps of travertine leading to a portico of *cipollino* columns on bases of red granite. Passing through the doorway above-mentioned, we notice in the centre of the Republican pavement a circular sub-structure of grey tufa. It has been conjectured that this was the foundation of the **Shrine of Mars** (*Sacrarium Martis*), in which were kept the sacred shields (*ancilia*) and spears (*hastæ*) of the war-god. These were used by the Salii, or "dancing priests," on ritual occasions, and were suspended in such a manner that they were sensitive to the slightest tremor of earthquake; when they "moved themselves" the portent was duly recorded.

At the south-western end of this part of the Regia is a small room with a pavement of black and white mosaic, shown by an inscription to have been the office of the *Kalatores* ("summoners") of the *pontifices* and *flamines*. In the northern part of the building was an open court, approached by an ante-chamber at the eastern side. In this were two wells and a large subterranean cistern 14½ ft. deep, cylindrical at the bottom and domed at the top. This was built of tufa lined with cement made of pounded potsherds (*opus signinum*). It was probably used for the storage of grain, which was poured in through a narrow opening in the N. side near to the top; and it is natural to

connect it with the worship of **Ops Consiva**, the Goddess of Plentiful Store (*Consiva* from *Condere*, "to lay up," or "bury"). We know, however, that the sanctuary of Ops Consiva was a secret chamber entered only by the Vestals (together with the Pontifex Maximus) on August 25, at the end of corn harvest, so that the shrine itself cannot have stood in the open court.

The northern side of the Regia faces the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda, or to give it its ancient name, the **Temple of Antoninus and Faustina**, built in A.D. 141 in honour of the deified Empress Faustina the Elder, as the inscription on the architrave records; the words engraved on the frieze—*DIVO ANTONINO ET*, "to the Divine Antoninus and . . ."—were added after the Emperor's death by order of the Senate. From the roadway a broad flight of steps, in the centre of which was a pedestal, doubtless for a statue of the Empress, led up to the portico, which had six columns of *cipollino* in the front as well as two at each side. Several of the columns have figures and inscriptions rudely scratched on them. The walls (built into those of the church, which dates from about the eighth century) were of peperino with marble facings which have long since disappeared: only parts of the frieze, with a graceful pattern of griffins and candelabra remain.

The excavations of 1902 and the following years have brought to light the remains of a **cemetery** of very early date at a depth of 15–20 feet below the imperial level, which was partly buried beneath the foundations of the Temple of Faustina, but extends for some distance beyond its S.E. corner. About forty graves have hitherto been discovered, and these are of two types—(a) long trenches in which bodies were buried, sometimes in rude coffins made of hollowed tree-trunks or blocks of tufa, and (b) circular pits in each of which was placed a large jar containing sacrificial offerings and vases; one of these held the ashes of a cremated body. These cremation-graves are earlier in date than the inhumation tombs, as is shown (*inter alia*) by the fact that one of them was partially destroyed in the digging

of a burial-trench. The pottery, which for the present is housed in a storehouse on the opposite side of the Sacred Way, and may only be seen by special permission, is rude and primitive: it is hand-made, and the clay is that found in the Forum itself. The most characteristic form is the hut-urn, which reproduces the primitive Italian dwelling, oval in plan, with a thatched roof. The cemetery may have been in use as early as the ninth century B.C., and the latest graves, in which a few vases of Greek importation have been found, are scarcely later than 600 B.C. Clearly it belongs to the period when the several village communities of the Septimontium had not yet formed a single city.

To the E. of the cemetery may be seen, below the level of the Sacred Way, a corridor with three rooms built of tufa-blocks on either side. They are paved with bricks laid in a herring-bone pattern (*opus spicatum*). These rooms have been thought to be a prison, but we know of no such building except that already described (p. 46); they are probably store-rooms or cellars belonging to houses of Republican date. They were included in the foundations of the circular building flanked by rectangular projections on either side of a curved porch which we next pass: this is the **chapel of the Divine Romulus**, not the founder of Rome, but the infant son of the Emperor Maxentius, who was deified on his death in A.D. 307. The richly ornamented architrave which surmounts the door was taken from some earlier building. The bronze doors, though deprived of their original decorations, still retain the ancient lock, which is ingeniously contrived. In the sixth century A.D. Felix IV made the chapel into the vestibule of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, the body of which was formed by an ancient building, whose East wall, built of tufa, may be seen by turning the L. on passing the chapel of Romulus. The N. wall, which is of brick and concrete, belongs to a restoration by Septimius Severus and the **Marble Plan of Rome** (p. 141), originally formed its facing. This too is in its present form the work of Severus, but is most probably a renewal of a similar plan set up by Vespasian, for the

building overlooked the **Forum of Peace**, so called because it contained the temple of that goddess built by Vespasian (cf. p. 154). This has not yet been excavated except for the narrow strip adjoining the building just described, which is often (but without reason) called the *Templum Sacrae Urbis* ("Temple of the Sacred City"); the name was given to it in the sixteenth century because of the discovery of the Marble Plan attached to the wall.

From this point the Sacred Way begins to ascend the slope of the Velia, and hence bore the name of the "**Sacred Hill**" (*Sacer clivus*). The ancient paving was brought to light in 1901, two metres below the mediæval road.¹ It is five metres wide, and curves gradually to the S. This part of the street was in early times occupied by the private houses of wealthy Roman families, such as the Valerii and Domitii, but like the main thoroughfares of all great cities, it gradually became a place of business, bordered by the shops of jewellers, spice-merchants, and others. Remains of these may be seen on both sides of the road. To the left-hand are foundations which seem to have belonged to the great spice-warehouse (*horrea piperataria*) built by Domitian and burnt in A.D. 285; and above them towers the imposing ruin of the **Basilica of Constantine**, begun by Maxentius between A.D. 306 and 310 under the name of *Basilica Nova*, but completed by his conqueror, whose name it commonly bears. This building is amongst the most perfect examples of Roman constructive science at the height of its development. Unlike the flat-roofed basilicas supported by arcades or ranges of columns, it is constructed with a few massive piers of concrete sufficient in number to sustain the concentrated thrust of the concrete vaults. As originally designed by Maxentius, the basilica had its façade to the E., where was a narrow vestibule across the whole width of the building with five entrances into the main building, three into the central nave terminated by a wide

¹ The rise of the ground-level may be measured by observing the foundations of the mediæval building with an arcaded front to the E. of the chapel of Romulus.

apse, and one into each aisle. In the centre of the nave were four huge piers, dividing the hall into three large bays, roofed with quadripartite vaulting, the groins of which sprang from eight monoliths of Hymettus marble. The last of these was removed by Paul V to the Piazza of S. Maria Maggiore. The aisles had three bays corresponding with those of the nave, which were roofed with barrel-vaults and divided by walls pierced with arches ; the three northern bays are well preserved, so that some idea can be formed of the means by which the weight of the roofs was so distributed amongst the supporting piers and walls that the whole building was self-contained and needed no external buttresses. This marks the triumph of Roman architecture, and the result was only made possible by the combined qualities of lightness and rigidity possessed by pozzolana concrete. The design of the Basilica—though not its structural character—was altered by Constantine, who made the principal entrance in the middle of the S. side. This was approached from the Sacred Way by a flight of steps leading to a portico of porphyry columns, and it was faced by a semicircular apse, as wide as that at the W. end, in the middle of the N. side, so that the aspect of the building was that of three parallel halls from whichever side it was entered. Of its decoration nothing remains save a small portion of the marble pavement, made of slabs of green porphyry and coloured marbles, and part of the coffered ceiling, whose stucco mouldings may be studied in the large fragments which lie on the floor of the basilica near its W. end. The roof was reached by spiral staircases in the walls (which were six metres in thickness), and one of these—to the N. of the western apse—has recently been cleared for some distance.

As we ascend the Sacred Hill we see facing us the church of S. Francesca Romana, which has taken the place of the **Temple of Venus and Rome**, built to the design of Hadrian on an artificial platform¹ raised on substructures of

¹ The Velia had been occupied by the vestibule of the Golden House of Nero, and a colossal statue of that Emperor in gilded

concrete once faced with travertine, which are well seen at the eastern extremity, opposite the Colosseum. The platform was approached by marble steps, a few of which was preserved on the western front. Some game-boards, like those of the Basilica Julia, and the figures of a gladiator, racehorse, and Centaur are scratched upon them. The precinct was surrounded by a colonnade double at the ends and single at the sides, formed by columns of red and grey granite, some fragments of which may still be seen. In the centre of the precinct was the great double temple, raised on a platform of seven steps : it had ten columns (of *cipollino*) in the front and twenty in each side, and space was left free, sufficient for an inner peristyle, between the columns and the walls of the *cellæ*. Of these there were two, placed back to back ; that which faced the Forum was (probably) dedicated to "Eternal Rome," the other to "Venus the Giver of Prosperity." The latter is better preserved : not only the great apse with its coffered semi-dome, but part of the S. wall may be seen. The brickfaced concrete was entirely covered with costly marbles, and there were rows of porphyry columns supporting an entablature in front of each wall. Two fragments of relief, one in the Lateran Museum (p. 231) and one in the Museo delle Terme (p. 217), are supposed to belong together and to represent the western pediment. Mars and Rhea Silvia, the Wolf and Twins and the Shepherds, appear on the fragment of the Museo delle Terme.

At the S.W. corner of the platform, stands the **Arch of Titus**, erected in commemoration of the suppression of the Jewish revolt and the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, but not completed until after the death of Titus in A.D. 81, as is shown by the inscription on the attic, which records its dedication "to the Divine Titus," and by the figure of the Emperor carried to heaven on the wings of an eagle, sculptured in the

bronze by a Greek artist, Zenodorus, stood on the site of the Campanile of S. Francesca Romana. Vespasian removed the portrait head of Nero and replaced it by an image of the Sun ; Hadrian caused the Colossus to be removed by twenty-four elephants to a spot nearer the Colosseum, where its base may be seen.

centre of the ceiling of the archway. The arch stands upon the pavement of the Sacred Hill, and it has been suggested that it was originally set up further to the N., and was moved by Hadrian when he built the Temple of Venus and Rome. In the Middle Ages it formed a part of the fortress built by the Frangipani, and suffered serious damage ; a floor was constructed in the middle of the archway, and the reliefs were hacked away in order that joists might be inserted. The level of the passage, too, was lower than in ancient times, and the traces of damage done by the traffic to the travertine foundations are plain. In 1821, when the last traces of the mediæval fortification were removed, it was found that the piers were in a dangerous state, and they were accordingly restored by Valadier in travertine, which the eye readily distinguishes from the original marble.

The arch is one of the simplest in its scheme, and yet the most effective of Roman triumphal arches : that of Trajan at Beneventum is very similar to it in plan and proportion, but is overloaded with decoration. The capitals of the engaged columns at the angles of the piers are the earliest examples of the Composite order, so called because the acanthus foliage of the Corinthian is combined with the volutes of the Ionic. On the keystones are sculptured an armed female figure, and a male divinity holding a Cornucopia : these are generally interpreted as Rome and the Genius of the Roman people, but in reality they represent a pair of deities worshipped by the army—Virtus (Manliness) and Honos (Honour). But the main interest of the monument belongs to the reliefs of the passage-way. That on the N. side portrays Titus in his triumphal car, accompanied by horsemen and lictors : he is crowned by Victory, and the bridles of the horses are held by Rome herself. On the S. side we see the procession approaching an arch represented in perspective, probably that which gave access to the Capitoline piazza : the treasures of the Temple of Jerusalem—the table of shewbread, the seven-branched candlestick and the golden trumpets—are being carried on stretchers. But the reliefs have more than

historical importance. It has been recognised that they mark a definite stage in the history of art. In Greek reliefs the background was always treated as though it were a blank wall, in front of which the figures stand, until in Hellenistic times some attempt was made to introduce the natural features of landscape which more properly belong to the sister art of painting. The problem which Greek artists had attacked only in late times and with imperfect success is here solved by the Roman sculptor, who contrives to produce the illusion of a scene taking place in the open air—as though a window had been thrown open in the solid marble. Such is the famous criticism passed by Wickhoff on these reliefs. In some details of his argument he is wrong. It is not true, for example, that the natural play of light and shadow was ingeniously provided for in order to heighten the illusion, for it is inevitable that some of the shadows thrown by the figures in the foreground should fall on the wall and destroy to some extent the open-air impression: but it is none the less true that spatial illusion is achieved in a manner hitherto unexampled in ancient sculpture.

From the Arch of Titus the ancient roadway leads up to the Palatine, which cannot, however, be entered from this side, as it was in antiquity by the Porta Mugonia. We know that the **Temple of Jupiter Stator**, the “Stayer of the rout,” who, according to legend, checked the victorious advance of the Latins at this point in response to the prayers of Romulus. To the S.E. of the Arch of Titus are the foundations of a temple upon which in the Middle Ages the Torre Cartularia (Tower of Archives) was built. These may well have belonged to the Temple of Jupiter Stator in its latest form: it is thought that some early foundations of tufa which have been exposed immediately to the E. of the arch are those of the original sanctuary.

On the W. side of the road, which now leads directly up to the Palatine, are other early foundations of tufa, together with a few blocks of travertine belonging to the superstructure; these may perhaps have been those of the **Temple of the Lares**, which we know to have stood “at the

highest point of the Sacred Way," and the excavations, which have been carried to a considerable depth in this region, have brought to light the remains of a Republican house with a number of small rooms and passages. The traces of its wall-paintings which remain are noticeable on account of their Dionysiac emblems.

The approach to the Palatine by the Sacred Hill is now blocked ; but we may turn to the R. along the line of the **Nova Via** or "New Street," which skirted the slope of the hill. Here, again, the true level of the ancient pavement, which had been buried in mediæval times, has only been recovered in recent years. Above us on the left are the substructures of the Imperial Palace, whose arcades extended across the lower part of the street (which passes behind the upper floor of the House of the Vestals) and made it into a tunnel. In the sunless chambers of this huge barrack-like structure were housed the army of slaves and dependents attached to the Imperial Court. There is a stairway by which we can descend to the House of the Vestals ; at a short distance beyond this the road is blocked by the Chapel of the Forty Martyrs. From this point the inclined way mentioned above led in ancient times past the back of the precinct of Juturna to the Forum : to the left is the zigzag ramp which leads down to the church of S. Maria Antiqua and up to the higher levels of the Palatine. The entrance to the latter is closed on week-days.

VI

THE PALATINE

[I]T has been explained above (p. 5) that the Palatine hill was, according to legend, the site of the **earliest settlement** of the Latin stock in Rome. The name which it bore—Palatium—is connected with that of the shepherd's divinity, Pales, and seems to have been properly applied only to the eastern half of the hill, which was separated by a depression running from N.E. to S.W. from the western half, known as the Cermalus. The legends relating to the foundation of the Palatine city are all connected with the **south-western angle** of the hill. Here it was that the basket which contained the twins, Romulus and Remus, was washed ashore by the Tiber at the spot where grew the **Sacred fig-tree**—*figus ruminalis*—afterwards miraculously transplanted to the Comitium. Here, too, was the **Lupercal**—the lair of the **she-wolf** who suckled the twins ; and above it was the **hut of** the shepherd, **Faustulus**, who became the foster-father of Romulus and Remus, and the “**house of Romulus**” itself. The **Auguratorium**, or platform upon which Romulus stood to take the auspices, and the **cherry-tree** which sprang from the lance which he hurled from the Aventine, were also in this region. These hallowed sites were carefully preserved from desecration—the sanctuary of the Lupercal, for instance, was restored by Augustus, and although it is not possible to identify the remains discovered in modern times with any of them, it is scarcely an accident that the most ancient structures yet found upon the hill are to be seen near this angle.

During the **Republican period** the Palatine became a fashionable **residential quarter**, especially upon the slopes which overlooked the Forum and Velabrum. Here was the house of Cicero, which had once belonged to Livius Drusus, the champion of the Italian allies, and afterwards to the orator M. Licinius Crassus : here, too, lived Cicero's great rival at the bar, Hortensius, and his bitterest enemy, Clodius. The Emperor Augustus was born in the street of "the ox-heads," near the north-eastern corner : and there is still preserved a house which may have been inherited by his consort Livia from her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero. Temples, again, such as that of the Great Mother of the Gods and of Jupiter the Victorious, were built, chiefly on the southern side of the hill, and some remains of them may yet be traced.

Under the Empire practically the whole of the hill except those parts which were hallowed by tradition or by the presence of temples was converted into an **Imperial residence**. The process was begun by Augustus, who, after the murder of Julius Cæsar, bought the house which had belonged to the orator Hortensius, and gradually enlarged it by the purchase of adjoining property. This residence was, however, burnt in 23 B.C. and rebuilt on a more magnificent scale, partly by funds publicly subscribed. There are no certain remains of the palace of Augustus now in existence : as will be seen, the Flavian state-rooms rest upon the ruins of earlier buildings, occupying the central depression of the hill, but we cannot be sure that these belong to the house of Augustus, which seems to have been burnt in the great fire of A.D. 64. Tiberius built a fresh palace on the western edge of the hill, which Caligula temporarily connected with the Capitol by a huge bridge resting on the Temple of Augustus and the Basilica Julia as its piers : this was of course destroyed after his murder. We do not hear of buildings erected by Nero on the Palatine itself—his Golden House extended across the Velia to the slope of the Esquiline—but the great suite of state-rooms which extends across the central part of the hill is the work of the Flavian dynasty, most

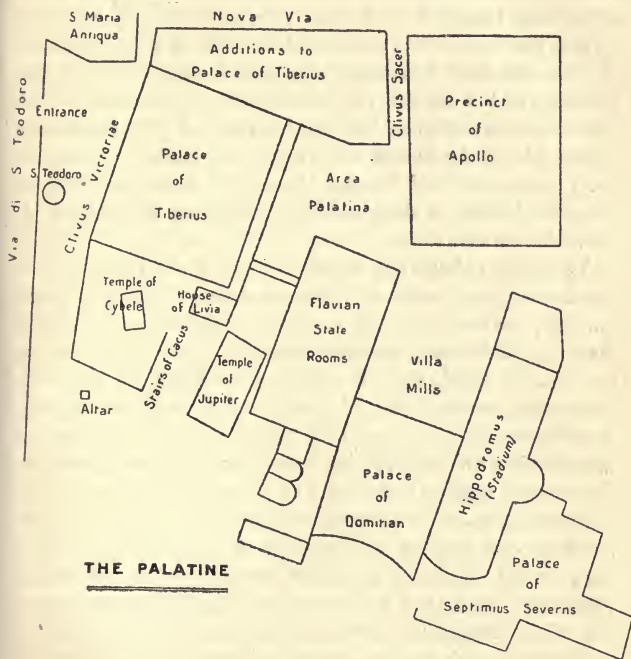
probably of Domitian, to whom we may also ascribe the partially excavated building immediately to the E. of these, as well as the so-called Stadium in its original form. The Imperial residence was again enlarged by Hadrian, whose additions to the palace of Tiberius were carried on arches across the Nova Via till they adjoined the House of the Vestals: he also built largely to the E. of the "Stadium." Finally, Septimius Severus raised a mighty structure at the S. E. corner of the hill, building partly on the palace of Hadrian, partly on an artificial platform carried on high arches. The Septizodium, whose remains might still be seen in the sixteenth century, formed a monumental façade on this side of the palace.

No further extension of the Imperial residence was now possible, for the N. E. part of the hill was occupied by the **temple and precinct of Apollo**, built by Augustus to the divinity who presided over the fortunes of the Imperial house, in which were kept the Sibylline books: and the *Area Palatina*, or Palatine piazza, to which the Sacred Hill led up from the Forum, was always kept free from buildings.]

The entrance to the Palatine excavations is in the Via di San Teodoro, close to the church of that name. The street follows the line of the **Vicus Tuscus**, or Street of the Etruscans, already mentioned in the description of the Forum, which led into the **Velabrum**, a place of traffic and merchandise, whose name is perpetuated in that of the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro.

We find ourselves on a road which slopes gradually upward from the S. W. to the N. W. angle of the hill. This road corresponds fairly closely with the course of the ancient "**Hill of Victory**" (*clivus Victoriæ*), which was so named from the Temple of Victory, which was built in 294 B. C., but was traditionally declared to be earlier than the time of Romulus. The *Porta Romana*, or "**Gate of Rome**," which, according to Varro, was the only entrance to the Palatine city, except the Porta Mugonia, on the side of the Velia (p. 83), is said to have

been "at the bottom of the Hill of Victory"; and if this statement be taken literally, we must infer that the defences of the primitive settlement ran, not along the top of the hill, but partly at least around its base. It was not an uncommon practice in early times to build a gateway in such



a position that if the enemy effected an entrance, he might yet be enfiladed on the right side whilst ascending a slope; and this principle may well have been applied here. Moreover, the line of the primitive **Pomerium of Rome**, the course of which is carefully described for us by the historian Tacitus, followed that of the valleys which surround the Palatine; its southern angles were marked by the altar of

Hercules, which was near the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin (p. 266), and the altar of Consus, at the E. end of the Circus Maximus (p. 257). The memory of this ancient boundary was kept alive by the curious ceremony of the Lupercalia, celebrated on the 15th of February, when the college of priests called Luperci, dressed only in goat-skins and brandishing leathern thongs, with which they struck the passers-by, ran round the line of the *pomerium*. It does not, however, necessarily follow from this fact that the base of the hill was put into a state of defence; for the *pomerium* was an *ideal* boundary—a sacred strip of land on either side of the furrow traced by the founder's plough in the ritual prescribed for the planting of a new settlement, whereas the line of defence must have been determined by practical necessity.

As we pass along the western slope of the hill, which is faced by huge walls of concrete dating from the Early Empire, we see on our L. some remains of early tufa masonry, which may perhaps have belonged to the Temple of Victory itself, though there is no proof of the fact. Somewhat nearer to the S.W. angle of the hill we come to a well-preserved piece of wall, which is very similar in its construction to the "Servian" wall as it may be seen near the railway station, the blocks of brown tufa being laid in alternate courses of headers and stretchers. At the angle itself we can see not only a piece of the same wall, which here serves as backing to the later concrete, but a few courses of an earlier wall, made of smaller blocks, which are of a grey-green colour. This variety of tufa is called *cappellaccio*, and does not seem to have been quarried on the Palatine itself, from which the brown tufa used in later times was dug. The earlier wall cannot be dated with any certainty: in style and material it resembles the earliest buildings on Roman soil, such as those in the Comitium (p. 53), but it is misleading to speak of it as the "wall of Romulus," if the name be taken to imply that it formed part of the primitive defences of the Palatine settlement. The outer wall so closely resembles the "Servian" walls

of the fourth century that we can hardly be wrong in assigning it to that date. It would seem to follow that the Palatine (like the Capitol, see p. 354) formed an inner citadel within the lines of fortification which surrounded Rome.

Passing round the corner of the hill we notice on the L. of the road an altar of travertine bearing an inscription which tells us how it was restored by C. Sextius Calvinus as praetor (probably about 100 B.C.), and was dedicated "to God or Goddess, whichever it be." It has been suggested that this was the altar set up in commemoration of the mysterious voice which warned the Romans of the approach of the Gauls, but there is no ground for the conjecture; that altar was dedicated to *Aius Locutius*, "the being who spake and uttered," and must have stood at some distance from this spot. We now climb by a winding path to the top of the hill and find ourselves on the edge of the central depression. Turning back towards the S.W. angle we pass the foundations of a large temple approached by flights of steps. This was probably the **Temple of Jupiter Victor**, dedicated after the battle of Sentinum (295 B.C.) by the dictator Q. Fabius Maximus. A little farther on we reach the edge of a slope overlooking the excavations of recent years, which have brought to light a mass of constructions, some of them of early date, which are extremely difficult of comprehension. Immediately below us a narrow road enclosed by walls of tufa leads towards the edge of the hill, showing traces of a gateway and a flight of steps cut in the rock. These may be identified with the *Scalae Caci*, or "**Stairs of Cacus**," named after an ancient Italian fire-god, who became in later mythology a robber, whose cave was at the base of the cliff and who was slain by Hercules. Just below the steps a cross street diverges to the west; the buildings on either side of this were largely constructed with the tufa blocks taken from earlier structures. In the angle formed by this street and the Stairs of Cacus may be seen the remains of early buildings and some circular pits and channels cut in the rock, which

have been explained either as the remains of early dwellings or as primitive tombs. The potsherds found at the same level are nearly all of the same character as the vases from the necropolis by the Sacred Way ; but one tomb was discovered containing a Greek vase of the fourth century B.C., and this lay beneath a piece of tufa walling bearing mason's marks similar to those of the "Servian" walls. At the top of the road leading down to the "Stairs of Cacus" will be seen a cross-wall constructed in masonry of various periods—one piece at the eastern end is in the early type, which we met with at the angle of the hill, formed of small blocks of *cappellaccio*. Above this cross-wall are the foundations (in tufa) of a sanctuary which cannot be identified ; it may have marked one of the holy sites such as the house of Romulus. The east wall cuts through a very early cistern, built with a kind of corbelled vault formed by overlapping blocks of tufa and lined with cement. Another cistern constructed with upright slabs of tufa held in place by a backing of rammed clay may be seen to the W. of the sanctuary just mentioned. All these indications point to the fact that a very early settlement—perhaps the earliest on the Palatine—existed at this corner of the hill. We also see the concrete foundations of two temples ; the smaller of these cannot be identified, but the larger, upon which evergreen oaks and cypresses have been planted, was that of **Cybele, the Great Mother of the Gods**, whose worship was introduced into Rome in 204 B.C., when her fetish, a conical black stone, was brought from Pessinus in Galatia in obedience to the injunctions of the Sibylline books. Beside the podium will be seen part of a colossal seated figure representing the goddess, and some fragmentary columns of *peperino*. If these are examined, it will be noticed that the stucco with which the unsightly material was covered adheres to them in places, and also that more than one coat can be traced, showing that the mouldings were restored from time to time. We know in fact that the temple was restored in 111 B.C. and also by Augustus. The platform in front of the temple, where the

Ludi Megalenses, or "games of the Great Goddess," were celebrated in April, was approached by a flight of steps with wings, of which portions remain.

The high platform to the N. of the temples is that upon which the Palace of Tiberius stood; but before we ascend it, we turn down a covered passage leading into the courtyard of a house upon which three rooms open. This part of the house is at a lower level than the rooms to the E., which were connected with it by a narrow staircase and corridor, now blocked. It is thought that the eastern portion was the fore-part of the house; in that case the courtyard could not rightly be described as an *atrium*, for this name properly belongs to the forecourt of a Roman dwelling. But it is not quite certain that the house really fronted eastward, and the court with three rooms opening upon it in any case gives a good impression of what a Roman *atrium* was like. The central room to the E. corresponds with the *tablinum*, or "office," and the side-rooms may be called the *alae*, or "wings," though this term should rather be applied to side-chambers projecting from the court. These rooms preserve considerable traces of their original decoration in fresco, which is typical of that generally employed in the houses of the wealthy at the close of the Republic and beginning of the Imperial period. The style is that described by archaeologists as "architectural," in which perspectives of painted architecture are introduced in order to give an illusion of surrounding space. The most interesting and characteristic are those on the **R. wall of the central room**. All the central portion of this wall appears to be covered with a kind of screen with free columns, an architrave and pediment, beneath which is a large panel, on which is painted **Io** seated at the foot of a column crowned by a statue of Hera. To the R. is **Hermes** (whose name is painted beside him in Greek characters); to the left **Argus**, the sleepless watchman set to guard Io. Is this scene to be regarded as a *picture* framed by the screen, or as a view of outer space? We could scarcely answer this question were it not that the wall paintings of the buried cities and villas

of Campania, such as Pompeii and Bosco Reale, enable us to trace the evolution of this style of decoration. Originally the intention of the artist was solely to give to the beholder the illusion of an outlook into surrounding space. Mythological subjects were not represented, but a rustic shrine or temple made a fitting centre for the design. Then the decorator became more ambitious, and subjects taken from, or inspired by, the higher art of the time were put in the place of prominence, and the rest of the design was subordinated to them; the tricks of illusory perspective-painting became of small importance. They were not, however, given up: observe that at the sides of the screen we are given an outlook upon streets and buildings which it would be hard to bring into relation with the central group. We shall see other examples of this style of decoration in the Museo delle Terme (p. 216).

The other wall-paintings of the house are also worthy of attention. On the centre of the back wall of the *tablinum* we see **Galatea** carried across the sea by a hippocamp, with the disconsolate **Polyphemus** on the shore; but this has been in great part obliterated. The decorations of the side rooms are simpler, but not less effective, especially that of the **room on the R.**, which has a painted colonnade hung with festoons of flowers and fruit, as well as masks and Dionysiac symbols. On the **right-hand of the court** is the entrance to a chamber described—probably rightly—in the inscription over the entrance as the *triclinium* or dining-room. The wall-paintings in this transport us into an imaginary landscape with rustic shrines, and thus illustrate the growth of the “architectural” style explained above out of a simpler scheme of decoration.

There are several rooms, grouped about a court with a staircase in the midst, at the back of those described. They are connected with the *atrium* by a narrow staircase, now blocked, and can only be entered from the higher level on which they stand. It is doubtful whether this was really the front of the house (see above).

It is clear that this house was carefully preserved when

other buildings in its neighbourhood were destroyed to make room for the imperial palaces ; and this may be explained if we identify it as the **House of Livia**, the consort of Augustus, inherited by her from her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero. In one of the rooms may be seen an ancient lead pipe bearing the inscription : IVLIAE AVG (ustae), and the name is probably that of Livia, who was adopted into the Julian family. The house has also been identified with the "House of Germanicus," in which some of the murderers of Caligula took refuge ; but this is mere guesswork.

We return to the passage which skirts the platform of the **Palace of Tiberius**. This was originally a covered corridor, or *cryptoporticus*, and those portions of the roof which are extant still preserve traces of decoration in gilded and painted stucco. In this corridor Caligula was murdered by the officers of the praetorian guard who had conspired against him on January 24, A.D. 41. To the left a flight of steps leads up to the top of the platform now occupied by the Farnese gardens, and it is worth while to walk as far as the N.W. corner of the hill in order to enjoy the view of the Capitol, Forum, etc. We are told that Caligula connected this palace with the Capitol by means of a colossal bridge, using the Temple of Augustus (p. 65) and the Basilica Julia (p. 49) as piers, and making the Temple of Castor and Pollux (p. 64) into its vestibule ; and it is easy to understand his plan from the point which we have reached. The bridge was destroyed after Caligula's murder, but later emperors—probably the Flavians and Hadrian—extended the palace at its northern end, raising an artificial platform on arches and vaults. This edge of the hill had up till this time been covered with private houses, amongst others that of Cicero, which Pliny mentions as still existing in his day. Below us we can see two streets—the upper is the continuation of the Hill of Victory, the lower the Nova Via—both of which were arched over by the substructures of the later palace. Returning towards the centre of the hill we approach the remains of the great state-rooms which occupy

the central depression ; these may also be reached by a branch of the covered corridor already mentioned. These state-rooms are generally known as the **Domus Flavia**, or "house of the Flavians," but there is no ancient authority for this name, and though there is reason to think that they were built by the emperors of that dynasty, they certainly formed only a part of a great palace which, as inscriptions show, was called the **Domus Augustana**, or "house of Augustus," the name being used generically for "the Emperor." On the north the state-rooms were faced by a portico of *cipollino* columns, which also extended for some distance along the sides. The bases of these may be seen, and at the N.W. angle a column of travertine patched with *cipollino* has been set up. Behind the portico were three rooms : the central of these, which was much the largest, is generally called the **throne-room**, since at the southern end there was an apse in which the Emperor's throne stood. There were also niches, which once contained colossal statues of basalt, in the side-walls, and columns of *pavonazzetto*, about twenty-five feet high, stood at intervals all round the walls. The room was roofed with a barrel-vault, coffered and gilded. To the west of this is a room known as the **basilica**, and believed to have been the hall in which the Emperor dispensed justice. There are in fact traces of a tribunal in the apse at the S. end, and of a marble screen by which it was railed off ; and along each side of the room was a row of granite columns which carried galleries and divided the hall into a nave and aisles. There is thus a striking resemblance to the plan of a Christian basilica, and the theory that the plan of such buildings was derived from that of this and similar halls of justice, though it has provoked much criticism in recent years, has much to commend it. Like the early Christian basilicas, this hall was originally roofed with timber, but in late times a concrete vault was constructed and massive piers added for its support.

To the east of the throne-room is a chamber somewhat smaller than the basilica, in which was found an altar (now

destroyed) approached by a flight of steps. For this reason it has been called the **Lararium**, or chapel of the Household Gods. Behind it are smaller rooms from which a staircase led to an upper floor.

We next pass to the Central Court or **Peristyle**, once surrounded by a colonnade, whose columns were of *portasanta*, with bases and capitals of white marble, surmounted by an open gallery with columns of porphyry and granite. To the west of it are a series of small ante-rooms, and there were probably others symmetrically planned on the opposite side which is as yet unexcavated. In the peristyle is a flight of steps leading down to the remains of a house which was incorporated in the foundations of the Flavian palace. Remains of its painted ceilings may still be seen, since it was left intact except for the massive foundation-walls of concrete which cut through it. The process by which such concrete was laid, described on p. 16, may easily be understood if we examine these walls; the traces of the framework of beams and planks into which the fluid mass was run are evident. In the eighteenth century much finer remains of earlier rooms were found under the northern part of the palace, especially the basilica, and it is not unlikely that part at least of this space was occupied by the house of Augustus.

Beyond the peristyle is a large apartment identified as the state **banqueting-room**, *triclinium* or *cenatio Iovis*, as it is called in the *Historia Augusta*. At the south end was an apse, which may have contained the Emperor's dining-table. Some traces of the sumptuous decoration in coloured marble with which the whole of the palace was enriched may be seen in this room. The pavement of the apse, which is formed of slabs of porphyry and coloured marbles, is in part well preserved. To the west of the triclinium is a **Nymphæum**, in the centre of which we see the oval base of a fountain, whose miniature cascades flowed into the surrounding channel. The room also contains niches for statues, and was no doubt decorated with flowers and filled with birds. A similar fountain existed on the east side of the triclinium and is buried under the Villa Mills. Passing

out of the *triclinium* at the corner we find ourselves on a platform to the S. of which were two halls with curved ends, the use of which is uncertain. They have been named the "Academy" and "Library." The platform rests partly on tufa foundations and we can descend into a subterranean corridor running between the Flavian building and the Temple of Jupiter already mentioned, and leading to tufa-quarries of early date.

Returning to the Lararium (see above), we may pass through a gate into the **Villa Mills**, which until quite recently was used as a convent, and was therefore inaccessible to visitors. In this region were the dwelling-rooms of the *Domus Augustana*, which still for the most part await excavation. This part of the palace had two storeys, and some walls belonging to the upper floor are incorporated in the convent. Here, too, were discovered in 1907 faint traces of Christian frescoes which seem to point to this as the site of the Chapel of S. Cesareo "in Palatio," built by the Byzantine exarchs. From the grounds of the Villa fine views may be seen, especially on the eastern edge near the monastery of S. Bonaventura¹ (whose solitary palm is one of the landmarks of Rome), and also to the S. on the brow of the slope facing the Aventine. Behind the convent building is a staircase leading down to the only portion of the *Domus Augustana* as yet excavated—a court upon which open three rooms, two of which are octagonal in shape. The rooms surrounding the court were excavated in the eighteenth century, but their remains were either destroyed or reburied. In the E. wall of the court—roughly stuccoed in imitation of marble panneling—will be found a passage which, as the marks on its walls clearly show, occupies the site of a staircase connecting the two floors of the palace. Through this we pass in to the building commonly known as the **Stadium**. It was natural to

¹ Beyond S. Bonaventura is the church of S. Sebastiano, which stands on the site of the great **Temple of Apollo**, built by Augustus in commemoration of the victory of Actium, and as yet unexcavated.

see in this circus-like structure an Imperial race-course ; but there is little doubt that it is in reality the *hippodromus Palatii* of which we hear in ancient authorities, and further that the name *hippodromus* signifies, not a race-course, as might naturally be thought, but a formal garden of that shape. This garden was originally laid out by Domitian on the eastern side of his palace, and later emperors—probably Hadrian and Septimius Severus—altered its aspect by adding the portico in two stories and the large semicircular *exedra* to the E. The lower arcades of the portico were carried by piers and half-columns of brickwork faced with fluted slabs of *portasanta*; the fragments of cipollino shafts which lie in the centre of the open space belonged to the columns of the upper storey. Under the large apse are three rooms with faint traces of frescoes. In the southern half of the Stadium may be seen a large oval basin of brickwork, built on foundations in which chips of coloured marble, belonging to the original decoration of the building, are largely used. This fact would suffice to show that the basin is of late date, and the brick-stamps found therein show that it was the work of Theodoric the Ostrogoth (493–526). Its use is quite uncertain. The ruins of the Stadium were plundered in the sixteenth century, but a few of the statues which adorned it escaped discovery, and were brought to light in the latter part of the nineteenth century. One—a seated female figure commonly called a “Muse,” a replica of which is in the cloister of the Museo delle Terme—has been left in a recess at the N. end of the Stadium. Between the *exedra* and the N.E. corner is a staircase which leads to the level of the upper gallery of the Stadium ; from the top of this staircase we may turn to the right, and passing behind the *exedra*, enter the remains of the **Palace of Septimius Severus**, built partly upon a suite of chambers added by Hadrian on the E. side of the Stadium, and partly upon a huge platform carried by arcades. Little can now be seen of the building of Severus except some bathrooms, whose walls contain the flues used for warming their atmosphere ; but it is well worth while to cross the bridge which

leads to the outer arcades and walk to the S.E. end of the platform for the sake of the view. Not far off, near the angle of the Palatine, once stood the Porta Capena, in the "Servian" wall, by which the Via Appia issued from the city; and in order to impress the traveller approaching Rome from the S. with a sense of his magnificence, Severus built, as a façade to his palace, the Septizodium (or Septizonium), the last traces of which were destroyed by Sixtus V in 1589. The form of this strange building was that of three semicircular niches, flanked by towers and faced with tiers of columns. It has been supposed that there were seven of these, forming seven "zones," which symbolised the spheres of the seven planets; and as Severus was a firm believer in astrology, some such symbolism was undoubtedly present. But the correct form of the name seems to have been Septizodium, or the House of the Seven "Zodia," i.e. the planets, which implies nothing as to its architectural design. Probably it had only three storeys.

Recrossing the bridge and descending by a staircase to the lower level, we return to the S. entrance of the Stadium, and thence take a sloping path along the edge of the hill. Above us on the right may be traced the outline of a curved balcony from which the Imperial party could watch the games in the Circus Maximus. That this does not date from the time of Augustus himself (as has often been supposed) is proved by the fact that, as Suetonius tells us, he used to watch the chariot-races from the upper floors of his friends' houses on the southern slope of the Palatine, as yet unoccupied by Imperial buildings.

We soon come to a series of rooms on the right hand, grouped about a semicircular recess, and faced by a portico of Corinthian columns, all of which save one have been replaced by brick piers. The walls in these chambers are covered with sketches and signatures drawn in the plaster with the *stilus*. The most famous is the supposed caricature of the Crucifixion, removed hence in 1857 to the Museo Kircheriano (p. 179). This building is generally known as the **pædagogium**, or training-school for the Imperial pages,

on the ground that amongst the *graffiti* we find such as *Corinthus exit de pædagogio*. But it is known that the *pædagogium* was situated on the Cælian, and it is therefore more likely that these inscriptions were scratched on the walls by pages recently transferred to the Imperial palace. It has been suggested (with less likelihood) that the rooms were in reality used for the incarceration of refractory pages, and that "*pædagogium*" was a slang term.

This completes the circuit of the extant remains of the Palatine, and we return past the altar of the Unknown God to the entrance. At the foot of the slope adjoining the circus were residences assigned to Imperial officials. One of these, which adjoins the "Pædagogium," was partly excavated in 1888, but is not accessible to visitors. It has been identified with the *domus Gelotiana*, acquired by Caligula on account of his passion for the chariot-races of the circus; but there is no ground for this supposition. There are considerable remains of ancient constructions beneath the church of S. Anastasia, at the S.W. angle of the Palatine, which may be seen by permission of the authorities of the church.

VII.

THE CAPITOL

[THE name *Capitolium* properly belongs only to the southernmost peak of the hill which, though now separated from the Quirinal by the valley in which Trajan's forum stood (p. 155), was originally connected with that height by a low saddle. The northern summit (now crowned by the church of S. Maria in Araceli) was known as the *arx* or "citadel." In the depression between the two peaks (now the Piazza del Campidoglio) Romulus, as the story ran, founded the "Asylum," or place of refuge for outlaws and "broken men," who formed so large a part of his new community; but the hill was not included in the earliest city, and it was not until the fusion of the Palatine and Quirinal settlements (p. 7) that it was chosen to be the citadel of the new Rome and the seat of its chief worship. This was the **Temple of Jupiter, the Best and Greatest**, the God whom the Latin allies of Rome worshipped on the Alban mount. To the first of the Etruscan kings of Rome, Tarquinius Priscus, is ascribed the building not only of the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount, but also of that of Jupiter the best and greatest, together with the two female divinities, Juno and Minerva, who made up the triad characteristic of Etruscan theology, on the Capitol. Its dedication was, however, reserved for the first consul of Republican Rome, and was dated Sep. 13, 509 B.C. It was the sole example in Rome of a temple in purely "Tuscan" style (p. 25), with its three parallel *cellæ* faced by a deep portico consisting of a triple row of columns.

The form was preserved at each successive restoration (see below, p. 133 f.), and copied (more or less faithfully) in the "Capitolia" set up in the colonies of the Latinised western provinces. Some remains of the original substructures are to be seen in the garden of the German Embassy (Palazzo Caffarelli), and it has been found possible to determine approximately the dimensions of the temple, which measured about 204 by 188 feet. The platform upon which the temple stood was called the *Area Capitolina*, and was likewise supported on early substructures, some traces of which are visible in the *Palazzo dei Conservatori* (see p. 146). It was coextensive with the southern peak, and at the angle nearest the Tiber was the Tarpeian rock, from which criminals were hurled. The sheer cliffs may be seen at various points, especially in the garden of the "Casa Tarpea" (*Via di Monte Tarpeo* 25). Traces of fortifications, both of early date and of the "Servian" style, exist at various points, e.g. in the *Via delle Tre Pile*, the winding road by which carriages ascend to the *Piazza del Campidoglio*. Nothing is left of the temple of *Juno Moneta* ("the Warner") which stood on the *Arx*. The Capitol was approached from the Forum by the *Clivus Capitolinus*, the line of which is marked by the *Porticus Deorum Consentium* (see above, p. 49) and the S. wall of the *Tabularium*. There were also flights of steps—the "hundred steps" near the Tarpeian rock, and the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, or "stairway of sighs" which led down to the prison (p. 46) on the line of the *Via dell' Arco di Settimio Severo*: here the bodies of criminals, such as *Sejanus* and his family, or murdered emperors, like *Vitellius*, were exposed. The modern "cordonata" by which the *Piazza del Campidoglio* is approached dates from the sixteenth century and is part of the design of Michelangelo.]

We climb this paved slope and find ourselves in the *Piazza*, with the *Palazzo dei Conservatori* upon our right, the *Museo Capitolino* on our left, and the *Palazzo del Senatore*, which rises above the ancient *Tabularium*, presently to be described, in front of us. In the Middle

Ages the only relic of ancient art which stood here was the mutilated group of a lion devouring a horse, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 141) which marked the place where death-sentences were promulgated at the head of a stairway leading to the entrance of the Palazzo del Senatore. Sixtus IV (1471-84) determined to form a collection of ancient works of art and to place them in the custody of the Conservatori, whose palace had been rebuilt by Nicholas V (1447-55). In the Papal palace of the Lateran were a number of bronzes, such as the She-wolf (p. 135), the Camillus (p. 144), and the Boy extracting a thorn (p. 144), which formed the nucleus of the collection, to which additions were made as new statues or fragments were brought to light, e.g. the fragments of a colossal statue, probably of Constantine the Great, now in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. Roughly speaking, it may be said that the Papal Museum of the Belvedere (p. 270) inaugurated by Julius II (1503-13), acquired the masterpieces of art, whilst the Capitoline collection was enriched by monuments of historical significance.

Michelangelo came to Rome in 1534, and was commissioned to transform the piazza into an *ensemble* of buildings and monuments worthy of so august a site. His design took more than a century to execute, and suffered a few modifications in detail: the delay was due to lack of funds. In 1538 the **equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius** was removed from the Piazza of the Lateran to the site where it now stands. It owed its preservation to the belief that it represented the first Christian Emperor. We learn from a mediæval pilgrim's guide-book that a small figure of a barbarian prince, with his hands bound behind his back, once lay beneath the raised forefoot of the horse. This is the only example of an Imperial Equestrian statue which has been preserved to us, and though not of the best period of art nor free from faults of execution, it admirably fulfils its monumental purpose. About 1550 the double staircase in front of the Palazzo del Senatore was completed, and at its foot were placed two recumbent figures of

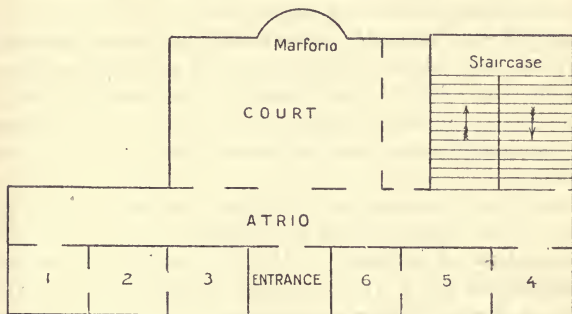
river-gods which had stood throughout the Middle Ages upon the Quirinal, near the colossal Dioscuri (p. 196). Probably they represented the Nile—symbolised by the Sphinx—and the Tigris: but the tiger which was the badge of this latter river was changed into a wolf by the restorer so as to typify the Tiber. Between them was afterwards placed a colossal statue of Athena, now in the Museo Capitolino (p. 105), for which was substituted at a later date the **seated Athena of red porphyry**, which was believed to represent the goddess Roma, and therefore provided with a pile of arms and armour and dubbed “Roma Trionfante.” The balustrade which faces the Piazza Araceli was completed under Pius IV (1559–66), and from time to time adorned with ancient monuments. The two statues of the **Dioscuri** (Castor and Pollux) at the head of the *cordonata* were discovered, as it would seem, in the Ghetto, and had doubtless stood on either side of some monumental gateway. Michelangelo intended them to face each other, but when, after twenty years, they were restored by Valsoldo, they were placed in their present attitude. The **first milestone** of a Roman road, with an inscription recording its restoration by Vespasian and Nerva, and believed to be that of the Appian Way, was placed on the balustrade about 1580, and (in the nineteenth century) balanced by the **seventh milestone** of the same road, with a similar inscription. In 1590 the so-called “**Trophies of Marius**” were brought from the monumental fountain whose remains are still to be seen in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele. The name by which they are popularly known dates from the Middle Ages; it is more difficult to determine their true origin. On the one hand, the coins of Severus Alexander represent a fountain on the Esquiline called the “Nymphæum of Alexander,” which resembles the remains above mentioned; on the other, a quarry-mark on one of the blocks of marble of which the trophies are made is dated in Domitian’s reign, and it is plausibly conjectured that an inscription seen by Petrarch and Poggio which records Domitian’s victories on the Rhine and Danube belonged to the monument. The

female figure who, with her two children, represents the conquered enemy on the trophy to the S. of the approach, is of German type, and Domitian's double triumph over the Chatti (in the Taunus) and Dacians (in Transylvania) celebrated in A.D. 89 may have been commemorated by the erection of this monument. Finally, under Innocent X (1644-55) two statues originally found in the ruins of the Baths of **Constantine** on the Quirinal, and representing that Emperor **and his son Constantine II**, were placed on the balustrade. They are interesting as specimens of Imperial statues executed in the decline of ancient art, stiff in pose, but not without monumental effect.

The Capitoline collection of antiquities was originally housed in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and a considerable addition was made to it by Pius V, a bigoted reactionary, who on his election to the Papacy in 1566 presented the people of Rome with a large number of statues from the Belvedere and Vatican Gardens. The "New Palace," as the building to the N. of the Piazza was called, made but slow progress until the reign of Innocent X, under whom it was completed and adorned with a number of statues and busts from the older building. To the nucleus thus formed additions were made by later Popes, above all by Clement XII, who in 1733 purchased the collection of Cardinal Alessandro Albani, then in financial straits, and transferred it to the **Museo Capitolino**, as it was now called. Except for some statues presented by Benedict XIV (1740-58), the the later acquisitions of the museum have not been considerable. Several of the most important works were removed to Paris by Napoleon in accordance with the Treaty of Tolentino (1797), but nearly all were restored in 1816 and placed in a special room.

We pass through a **corridor** into a **courtyard**, and see in front of us a colossal recumbent **river-god** known throughout the Middle Ages as **Marforio** from the place where it stood ("Martis forum") near the Mamertine Prison, and famous from the fact that the answers to the satires of the "Pasquino" (p. 171) were attached to it. It was brought

to the Capitoline Piazza in the sixteenth century, and turned to its present use by Clement XII (whose bust may be seen above it) in 1734, when the **two Pans** from the Albani collection were placed on either side of it. These were discovered in the Piazza dei Satiri (to which they gave its name) and belonged to the decoration of Pompey's theatre (p. 168). On the R. of the court is a hall containing **Egyptian sculptures**, partly of the imitative kind produced in Rom under the Empire ; some of these were discovered in the sanctuary of Isis in the Campus Martius (p. 175). In the



MUSEO CAPITOLINO - Ground Floor

corridor, to the L., (4) is a colossal statue of **Athena** (cf. above, p. 103), which, though poor in execution, represents an original of the period of Phidias ; it was originally armed with shield and spear. Farther on are two draped female figures (12 and 22), the effect of which is impaired by the heads which have been placed on them. They belong to the art of the period following the Persian wars, and illustrate the early progress of the Greeks towards the representation of the natural fall of drapery. A head in Berlin has been identified as that which belongs to the type. At the end of the corridor is (21) a fragment of a statue in *pavonazzetto*

representing a barbarian, brought from the Arch of Constantine in 1733 (see p. 253). Here we turn to the L. and enter a room containing a few **Christian monuments** (fragments of sarcophagi, statue of the Good Shepherd, etc.) and (on the L. wall) a marble disc carved in low relief with scenes from the story of Achilles. In an inner room are a number of altars and gravestones, a few of which have Palmyrene inscriptions. The most interesting is the **altar in the centre of the room**, set up by members of the police-force attached to the **horrea Galbiana** or warehouses by the Tiber, with a beautiful bust (in relief) of the youthful Sun-god on the principal face. It has a Palmyrene inscription on the side upon which is figured a solar deity in a chariot, and on the back is carved a cypress tree from which the divinity Azizus springs in the form of a child. The altar is little later than the reign of Nero, and bears witness to the early introduction of Palmyrene cults into Rome.

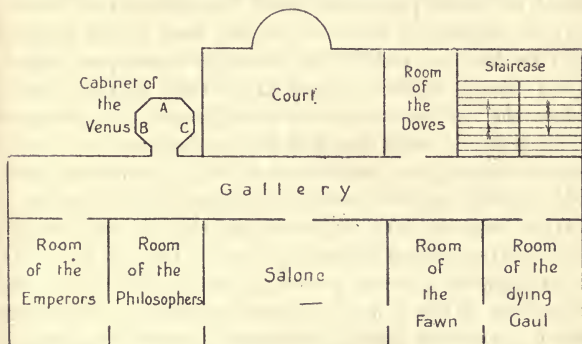
Returning to the corridor and passing the entrance we see on the L. (35) a figure of Polyphemos with one of the companions of Odysseus under his feet and a statue of **Hadrian**, to the R. (19) a colossal statue of **Mars**. The type is that of "Mars the Avenger," to whom Augustus dedicated the temple in his Forum (p. 152), and it seems to have been derived from that of a colossal statue of Ares set up in the Acropolis of Halicarnassus in the fourth century B.C. Here we turn through a door on the R. into a room containing a number of busts and heads (note No. 19, an athlete with straps passing round his head, sometimes wrongly described as Juba II of Mauretania, and No. 25, a head of Heracles reproducing a type created by Scopas); in the centre is a square base adorned with reliefs representing the labours of Heracles in an "archaistic" style. In the next room, against the **R. wall**, is a fine sarcophagus representing a **battle of Gauls and Greeks**. To the Roman, no doubt, the scene recalled the wars of his own country with the Gauls: but the style and types used clearly point to the school of Pergamon which celebrated the

victories of Attalus I over the Gallic invaders of Asia Minor : on this see pp. 128 and 214. How popular these types were with Roman artists is shown by the fact that on the Column of Trajan the suicide of Decebalus (p. 163) is represented precisely as that of a Gallic chief on this sarcophagus. In the same room is the grave-monument of **T. Statilius Aper**, an architect and draughtsman, whose instruments are shown on the sides of the *cippus*. The boar at the feet of the figure alludes to his name (*aper*=boar). Passing into the third room we see a large sarcophagus, upon the lid of which are the figures of a man and woman reclining upon a cushion. These clearly belong to the early third century A.D., and were long believed to represent the Emperor Severus Alexander and his mother, Julia Mammæa. The sarcophagus was found in the Monte del Grano, an artificial tumulus near the Via Latina, and an unfounded tradition asserts that it contained the famous Portland Vase, now in the British Museum, the scenes of which were interpreted as symbolical of the birth of Severus Alexander. The body of the sarcophagus is decorated with scenes from the life of Achilles. On the front we have Achilles at the Court of Lycomedes, king of Scyrus, in the act of throwing off his woman's disguise on the arrival of Odysseus and Diomedes. The balance and symmetry of the composition, at either end of which is a seated king (Agamemnon and Lycomedes), are traditional, while the absence of neutral background and the violent contrast of light and shadow mark the later period of Roman art. On the sides we see the farewell of Achilles to Lycomedes and the arming of Achilles.

Returning to the corridor we mount the **Staircase**. On the first landing, to the L. is a female portrait-statue of the "Pudicitia" type, on which see p. 324, to the R. a female divinity with the modern inscription IVNO LANUMVINA (i.e. Juno of Lanuvium). It is, however, very doubtful whether the statue was found at Lanuvium (Cività Lavigna), and the type is rather that of an earth-goddess. The skin with which she is draped is that of a pig. At the head of the staircase we enter a **Gallery** and turn to the R. To our

L. (38) is a group of Heracles slaying the hydra, wrongly restored. The pose of Heracles shows that he was represented with his knee upon the neck of the Kerynæan stag. The hydra is the work of the sculptor Algardi (1602-54). Beside this group is placed another fragment, consisting of a leg and the coils of the hydra. The story runs that it was found after Algardi's restoration was complete: but it is probably not antique, and belonged to a restoration afterwards discarded. To the R. is (5) a statue of **Eros (Cupid) bending his bow**, copied from a bronze original, probably by Lysippus, charming in conception and treatment, though lacking in spiritual depth. Near this a door (R.) leads to the **Room of the Doves**, which takes its name from the mosaic on the **wall opposite the windows** found in Hadrian's Villa, and representing doves perched on the edge of a bowl. The subject agrees with that of a mosaic by Sosus of Pergamon, an artist of the Hellenistic period, described by the elder Pliny, and was no doubt derived therefrom. It formed the centrepiece of a mosaic floor, and is remarkable for the minuteness of execution, which aims at an effect more proper to painting than to mosaic. Beneath it stands (13) a sarcophagus, upon which is represented **Prometheus forming the first man of clay**, together with other scenes (Hermes and a departed soul, Hephæstus and the Cyclopes, Eros and Psyche, etc. etc.) The crowding of these loosely connected subjects resembles that which we find on Christian sarcophagi, and one group of figures (a man and woman beneath a tree) has been thought to represent Adam and Eve in Paradise. Farther on, on the same wall, is a mosaic with theatrical masks, and beneath it a sarcophagus, upon which is figured the sleeping Endymion approached by Selene. In the second window-opening are fragments of **Tabulæ Iliacæ**, or slabs of marble upon which scenes from the Trojan war are engraved, with quotations or explanatory inscriptions. The largest is No. 83, in the centre of which is the destruction of Troy "according to Stesichorus," the Sicilian lyric poet. No. 83A represents the shield of Achilles as described in the 18th Iliad; the Homeric text

is inscribed in minute characters on the edge of the shield, and on the back are letters which, read in several ways, give the sense, "The Shield of Achilles according to Homer, by Theodorus." Upon the tiers of shelves surrounding the room are a large number of heads and busts belonging to different periods. Amongst those on the end wall are several with modern stands of black marble which belong to the reigns of Augustus and his successors, and are characteristic of Early Imperial Art. In the centre (61) is a very remarkable bust of the third century A.D., which portrays a villainous-



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Upper Floor

looking personage with unsparing realism. Beneath is the *cippus* of a certain Claudia Syntyche, with a relief representing a more famous Claudia—the Vestal who drew the boat containing the image of the Great Mother (Cybele) up the Tiber in 204 B.C. On the R. wall notice (28) a small double herm with the heads of two marine divinities, probably those of the lakes of Nemi and Albano, since a similar herm was found in the precinct of Diana Nēmorensis beside the former lake.

Returning to the **Gallery** we see on the R. (8) the statue of a **drunken old woman** (head restored) clasping an amphora

wreathed with ivy. Pliny mentions such a statue as existing at Smyrna, and attributes it to Myron, who (if the text be correct) must have been a Hellenistic artist, not the famous Attic sculptor. Near it (10) is an octagonal urn which once contained the ashes of a certain Lucillus Felix, daintily decorated with winged loves, masks and vine leaves. No. 12 is a graceful figure of a young Satyr playing the flute, conceived in the idyllic spirit of Alexandrian pastoral poetry. On the L. notice (56) a group of a seated Roman matron and her little boy, wearing the *bulla* or amulet hanging round his neck, popularly called "Agrippina and Nero"; (54) an Aphrodite upon which has been set a head of Flavian date, as is shown by the high *toupet* (see below); (52) a female figure restored as a Muse, leaning upon a pillar—the type was created in the fifth century to represent Aphrodite, and often repeated with variations; also (50), a torso belonging to a replica of Myron's discobolus (see p. 219), restored by the French sculptor, Etienne Monnot, as a fallen warrior. On either side of the doorway leading into the large saloon is a female head. That on the L. (51) is an Aphrodite of the period just before Praxiteles, with something of the severity of fifth century art: the one on the R. (47), with hollow eye-sockets, in which eyeballs of glass and enamel were once inserted, is in all probability an original work by the artist Damophon of Messene, whose style and date were not certainly known until the discovery of remains at Lycosura in Arcadia belonging to a sanctuary described by Pausanias. He lived in the early part of the second century B.C. Close to it is (48) a young Niobid, restored in accordance with a better-preserved replica in Florence; it belonged to the group discussed on p. 324. Under No. 46 is a sarcophagus representing the birth and upbringing of the child Dionysus, who is surrounded by satyrs and nymphs. Opposite this (20) is a Psyche, with large butterfly wings, looking up pathetically toward the Eros, who we must imagine in the act of torturing her. The conception is strikingly similar to that of the Niobid just described. To the L., No. 42, is a grave-statue repre-

sending a seated Roman matron, which cannot be later than the Augustan age. To the R. we pass through a doorway into the **Cabinet of the Venus**, named after the principal statue therein, which faces the door. The exquisite and naturalistic rendering of the nude, evidently due to study of a living model, stamps this as an original work ; the lack of spiritual expression in the face, which reproduces a type traceable to the fourth century B.C. in a somewhat perfunctory fashion, forbid us to date the statue earlier than the later Hellenistic period. It may be the work of a Greek artist of the last century B.C. The goddess has laid aside her last garment and is preparing to enter the bath, when an impulse of modesty causes her to cover herself as far as she can with her two hands. The subtlety and refinement of the motive show that the age of Praxiteles has been left far behind. To the L. is a group of **Leda and the Swan**. Leda is raising her cloak to protect the Swan, who has taken refuge with her from the pursuing eagle. There is nothing to indicate that it represents Zeus, and the chief interest of the artist seems to be concentrated on the representation of drapery. A close analogy has been traced in the sculptures from the temple of Asclepios at Epidaurus, which were the work of an Athenian sculptor, Timotheus, of the early fourth century B.C., and the original of this group has therefore been attributed to him. To the R. is a group commonly known as **Eros and Psyche**. Neither are, however, winged (the presence of wings would, in fact, destroy the simplicity of the group), and all that we see is a boy and girl embracing each other in childish innocence, as is delicately shown by their attitude, but standing on the threshold of a stronger passion. Such a problem could not have been attacked by Greek artists before the Hellenistic period ; on the other hand, its existence in the second century B.C. is presupposed by terracottas and marbles of that time, which reproduce it on a small scale. In some of these wings are added, in order to characterise the figures as Eros and Psyche ; but this does not prove that the artist of the original intended them as such. Other modifications, in fact, are found ; the action of

the boy, who is opening the girl's mouth with his fingers in order to count her teeth, is altered in some examples.

We return to the gallery and note at the end a large vase in the shape of a crater or mixing-bowl, finely decorated with plant-forms. It stands upon a circular well-head adorned with a procession of twelve gods in relief. The style of these figures is "archaistic" and affected; notice such exaggerated traits as the "swallow-tail" folds of the drapery and the tip-toe gait of the divinities. This fashion of imitating archaic works was prevalent amongst certain of the "Neo-Attic" sculptors of the first century B.C. On the R., No. 29, found at Velletri, is a replica (without the ægis) of the more famous "Giustiniani Athena" which is described on p. 329. At this end of the gallery are some noticeable Imperial portraits. No. 24 is Tiberius; No. 27, a fine female head of about A.D. 200 may be Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus; No. 28, a youthful Marcus Aurelius; No. 30, Trajan; No. 31, Caracalla; while No. 33 is generally held to be one of the very few authentic portraits of Caligula, though it has also been suggested that it may represent Gaius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, who died young, on the ground of its resemblance in profile to the portraits of his father, Agrippa.

At this point we pass through a door on the L. and enter the **Room of the Emperors**, which contains a remarkable collection of Imperial busts formed by Cardinal Albani, to which but few additions have since been made. They deserve study not only for their intrinsic interest, but also as illustrating the development of a specifically Roman art of portraiture. The series begins on the upper shelf in the corner to L. of the window looking on the Piazza and continues from L. to R. 1 is not, as it is described, a bust of Julius Cæsar, but an unknown portrait of late Republican date, which illustrates the hard, realistic style in which the earliest Roman portrait-sculptors worked. 2A, Augustus wearing the oak-wreath or *corona civica*, and those which follow, exemplify the classicistic style, dominated by Greek influences, which prevailed on the foundation of the Empire.

4 is Tiberius, 5 most probably his nephew and adopted son Germanicus, 7 may be his son Drusus. 6 is wrongly placed here, and really belongs to the Flavian period. The ladies of the court are represented by 8 and 10, the latter Agrippina the elder, wife of Germanicus. 11 is a modern bust of Caligula in green basalt, no doubt executed in imitation of coin-types to fill a gap in the series. Nos. 12—17 belong to the Julio-Claudian period. No. 16 has been restored as Nero, but only the upper part of the face is ancient. No. 18 resembles the coin-portraits of Galba, but seems to be a Republican bust worked over in modern times. 19 may be Otho; the wavy hair is characteristic of this emperor. 20 shares with other portraits of Vitellius the suspicion of being a modern creation, the prototype of which dates from the Renaissance; the question is hard to decide. 21 (Vespasian) and 22 (Titus) are only moderate examples of the finest period of Roman portraiture; 23 and 25 wear the unmistakable hairdress of the same age, and the latter may be Domitia, the wife of Domitian. 26 (Nerva) is thought to be the work of Algardi; it is clearly modern. 27 is a good portrait of Trajan; 28 is his Empress, Plotina, probably in the days of her widowhood. 29 and 30 recall by the style in which the hair is dressed the portraits of Marciana, the sister of Trajan, and Matidia, his niece, but the identifications are doubtful. 31 and 32 represent Hadrian, 33 most probably his wife Sabina, depicted as Ceres. (This is indicated by the diadem adorned with ears of wheat and poppy-heads; the bust illustrates the Renaissance of Greek classicism under Hadrian.) Note that from the time of Hadrian onwards the practice of representing the iris or pupil of the eye by incisions in the marble comes into vogue. A new style is ushered in by the portraits of the Antonine period; the Emperors are represented by Nos. 35 (Antoninus Pius), 37 (Marcus Aurelius as a youth), 38 (the same in middle life), 41 (Lucius Verus), 34 and 43 (Commodus; the latter is youthful, the former has wrongly been described as Ælius Cæsar, the adopted son of Hadrian and father of L. Verus). 36 is Faustina the elder,

wife of Antoninus Pius ; 39 may possibly be Crispina, wife of Commodus. 40 seems to be a child of the Antonine house. The heads which follow are works of uncertain identification and belong to the late Antonine age or to that of the Severi ; 47 is Julia Mammæa, mother of Severus Alexander. 49 is interesting as possessing an artist's signature—"Zenas the second," i.e. Zenas the son of Zenas. The father was most probably the artist whose signature may be read on a bust in the next room (below, p. 119) ; and both belonged to a well-known school of sculptors from Aphrodisias in Asia Minor, whose works can be dated to the reign of Hadrian. Whether they worked at Aphrodisias or, as seems more probable, in Rome, there can be no doubt that they exercised considerable influence over the art of their time. No. 49 in particular is an excellent portrait, and must represent a personage of some importance at Hadrian's Court, seeing that another example has been found in a villa in France, probably the official residence of a governor or procurator, together with other Imperial portraits. Nos. 50 and 51 represent Clodius Albinus and Septimius Severus : the former was governor of Gaul, and was unwillingly recognised by Severus as joint-Emperor until the latter, having crushed his Eastern rival, Pescennius Niger (supposed without sufficient reason to be represented by No. 48), was free to attack him. 52 may be Severus' wife, Julia Domna ; 53 is his son and successor Caracalla, and though not a first-rate portrait, reproduces the characteristic type of the savage and half-insane tyrant. 54 may be the same Emperor in earlier life ; 57 is his younger brother Geta, whom he murdered in his mother's presence, not, as is commonly supposed, his cousin Elagabalus. The other heads, especially the female portraits, assigned to this period are not to be identified with any probability. As the third century advances the un-Roman cast of features—which begins with the dynasty of the Severi, who were of African origin and married Syrian wives—becomes more marked, and a new style of portraiture, which employs simple yet effective means, such

as the representation of short hair by incised chisel-strokes, comes into fashion. 62 is a bust of Maximinus the Thracian, the first barbarian Emperor; 63 possibly his son Maximus. Few of the third-century heads can be securely identified, since in the progressive decline of art the coin-portraits lose their iconographic value. 66 seems to be Pupienus, one of emperors set up by the Senate in A.D. 238, the year of Six Emperors. 70 resembles the coin-portraits of Decius, the persecutor of the Christians; 74 and 75 seem to represent father and son, probably private persons of the middle of the third century. 76 is a moderately good portrait of Gallienus, under whom the Empire almost suffered premature disruption: he was a conceited fop and *dilettante*, and there was a strange renaissance of portraiture under his rule which was of brief duration. 79 bears the inscription MACARI "[a portrait] of Macarius," which has wrongly been interpreted as M. A(urelius) Cari(nus). The portrait is much earlier than Carinus, the predecessor of Diocletian, whose name has been given, quite wrongly, to No. 80, a fine bust which really belongs to the beginning of the second century A.D., and if it represents an Imperial personage at all, is probably the father of Trajan. 81, a colossal head, has been called Constantius Chlorus, but is far older than his time. The treatment of the hair, etc., shows that the colossal statue to which it belonged was intended to be seen from a distance, and the workmanship is so effective that we may perhaps ascribe it to the Flavian period. 82 has the unintelligible inscription (seemingly of mediæval date) IANUS INPEATOR, which was taken to mean "Iulianus Imperator"; the head therefore has been identified as "Julian the Apostate." It is in reality a portrait of a Greek philosopher, of which there are other replicas in the next room (see below, p. 119). 83 is a typical example of the art of the Later Empire, with its stiff pose and fixed, staring gaze. Probably it is of the later fourth century A.D., but some hold that it belongs to the time of Justinian. In the centre of the room is (84) a seated female statue traditionally called Agrippina, but

really of the Antonine period. The workmanship is commonplace, but the pose and motive are derived from Greek art of the classical period. Amongst the reliefs let in to the upper part of the walls the most noticeable are two on the **L. wall**, representing (89) Persæus and Andromeda, (92) Endymion. Under the Roman Empire, if not before, the practice of decorating the walls of houses, etc., with large bas-reliefs in place of paintings sprang up. We have here two examples of this class. No. 92 is superior in workmanship, and the figure of the seated Endymion with his dog has no parallel in other ancient representations of the myth. It can scarcely be later than A.D. 100. No. 89 belongs rather to the class of the reliefs in Palazzo Spada, described on p. 169 ff. It is not, as some have thought, an Augustan composition derived from a painting of the Alexandrian age, but arises from an eclectic combination of statuary motives, and is to be dated to the time of Hadrian or a little later.

We pass through the door on the L. into the **Room of the Philosophers**, i.e. of the Greek portraits. Most of these are again derived from the Albani collection, and their identification is even more uncertain than that of the emperors. Not a few Roman portraits, too, are included in the collection. The numbering begins on the upper shelf to the L. of the entrance. 1 is not a portrait—though it has received the traditional name of Virgil—but an Eleusinian divinity resembling the beautiful head from Eleusis, believed to be the Eubouleus of Praxiteles. 2 and 3 represent a Greek philosopher, fancifully identified as Heraclitus, “the weeping philosopher,” on account of their pathetic expression. 4 and 5 are portraits of Socrates—in the latter the uglier features of the original are strongly emphasised—while 6 has been converted into a Socrates by the modern restorer. Nos. 7–9 cannot be identified; No. 10 is a moderately good example of a type, long believed to represent Seneca, but now recognised as the portrait of a famous Hellenistic poet, possibly Callimachus. In the Museo delle Terme (p. 217) is a replica wearing the

crown of ivy proper to poets, and the amazing realism with which the physical defects of the subject are portrayed points to a contemporary portrait rather than, as some have suggested, an imaginary representation of some early Greek poet such as the satirist Hipponax. Nos. 13 and 14 are good copies of an Attic portrait of the fourth century B.C., perhaps representing an orator; No. 15 bears the inscription AYCIAC, a mistake for Lysias. The genuineness of this inscription has been disputed, and the person represented is not the same as the subject of the fine inscribed bust at Naples, as to which see on No. 96. 16 is a colossal male head of the Augustan head, wrongly called Agrippa, on the ground that it was found near the Pantheon. 21 is a copy made in the second century A.D. (as is shown by the form of the bust) of a fine realistic portrait of a Greek philosopher of the Hellenistic age. It has been identified with Diogenes, but the resemblance to the inscribed statuette of that philosopher in the Villa Albani is not close. 22, a fragment mounted in relief on *verde antico*, is not Archimedes, as the modern inscription has it, but Sophocles (see on No. 33). 24 is a bust executed in the third century A.D. (compare the Imperial portraits of that period in the previous room) which bears the name Asclepiades, possibly a famous physician of the first century B.C. 25 is a contemporary portrait of the Platonic philosopher Theon of Smyrna, who lived under Trajan and Hadrian. 31 is a poor portrait of Demosthenes; 32, a Roman of the second century A.D. 33 and 34 are replicas of the portrait of Sophocles best known from the statue in the Lateran (p. 235), which belongs to the latter half of the fourth century B.C. It is instructive to compare this type with No. 22, which belongs to the poet's lifetime, and is identified by means of an inscribed bust in the Vatican (p. 300). 35 is a badly preserved example of the portrait sometimes called Alcibiades discussed on p. 316. 37 and 38 resemble each other closely, and may represent the same person: a similar head appears on coins of Soli in Cilicia, and is either that of Aratus, the astronomer, or of Chrysippus, the Stoic philo-

sopher and logician, both of whom lived in the third century B.C. Chrysippus had a famous statue in Athens, and it is possible that our head, combined with a body in the Louvre, may represent it. 39 and 40 are of the same period, but do not represent the same person. 41-43 reproduce the conventional type of Euripides, which, like that of Sophocles (No. 33), is not contemporary, but largely idealised in the taste of a later time. 44-46 are examples of an ideal portrait of Homer, the creation of which was the work of the Rhodian school to which we owe the Laocoon. 47 seems to have been originally a Sophocles of the type represented by 22, worked over to give an appearance of blindness and possibly intended for Homer. 48 was found together with an inscription mentioning Domitia, the wife of Domitian and daughter of Cn. Domitius Corbulo, a brilliant general who was in command on the Eastern frontier under Nero and was finally put to death by his order, and as it is of the Julio-Claudian period it is almost certainly a portrait of Corbulo, and a fine example of Roman portraiture. 49 bears the inscription P. COR. SCIPIO, indicating that it was regarded as a portrait of Scipio Africanus the elder, the conqueror of Hannibal: but this dates from the eighteenth century, and few would now be found to maintain the correctness of the identification. The bust is one of a numerous class, distinguished by the shaven head and (in most instances) by the presence of a scar or scars, sometimes, as here, in the shape of a cross, upon the forehead. If we assume that the busts represent distinguished Romans of the Republic, these traits must be taken as evidences of the realism which is always found in native Italian art: the appearance of baldness might perhaps be traced to the direct imitation of the waxen masks of ancestors preserved in the houses of the Roman aristocracy, in which the hair was painted. But there are strong reasons for thinking that the busts are those of priests of Isis, who shaved their heads and were branded as a token of dedication. The present example was executed in the second century A.D., as is shown by the plastic treatment of the iris

and pupil (see above, p. 38). 51 is an Augustan portrait, but not, as it has been called, Pompey. 53 is a very poor portrait of Menander, better represented in the Vatican (p. 314). 54, wrongly called Sappho, is a fifth century type of Athena. 56 is a good and characteristic portrait of a Hellenistic philosopher ; 58, a poor bust of Plato (see p. 284). 59 is a fierce-looking, barbaric youth which has been called Arminius, but is really of the second century A.D. 61 is the orator Æschines (see p. 283) ; 62 and 64 represent Epicurus, the founder of the Epicurean school, and his friend Metrodorus, who are also portrayed on the double herm 63. 66 is signed by Zenas of Aphrodisias, probably the father of the artist mentioned on p. 114, and is a very fair portrait dating from about the end of Trajan's reign. 68, once known as Massinissa, is a copy of an Attic original of the fifth century B.C. ; the suggestion that it may represent Miltiades is at least possible. 69 dates from the same period, but is hard to interpret ; the fillet or diadem which it wears was perhaps misunderstood by the Roman copyist. 70 is a portrait of the cynic Antisthenes (see p. 283). 72 and 73 are replicas of the so-called Julian the Apostate (p. 115) ; the style of the former shows that the common original was of bronze. It was of the fifth century B.C., no doubt representing a philosopher, whom we are not able to identify, and must rank as one of the earliest true portraits preserved to us. 75 is proved to be a portrait of Cicero by its resemblance to a bust in Apsley House (much restored) which is inscribed with his name. Its refined and intellectual, but somewhat weak and nervous expression, suits well with the character of the orator. 76 has been called Terence, but the mask engraved on the shoulder indicates a writer of tragedy, not comedy, and it is a work of the third century A.D. 77-79 are replicas of an ideal portrait, indicated by the fillet as that of a priest or poet. It may represent a comparatively early conception of Homer, or possibly of Hesiod. 80, wearing an Oriental turban, has been shown to represent Pythagoras from its resemblance to a head on an inscribed "conformate" or token. 81 is a work of the school which

produced the Periander of the Vatican (p. 281). 82, a fine portrait, has been conjectured on account of its baldness to represent Æschylus or Phidias. Others believe that the forehead is that of a mathematician, and suggest Archimedes. In any case it can scarcely be earlier than the fourth century B.C. 83, a bust in dark grey marble of about the middle of the second century A.D., has two replicas, at Modena and at Florence, one of which is inscribed with the name of Euripides and the other with that of Homer. Both inscriptions are, of course, forgeries, and the busts probably represent Tiberius Julius Rhoemetalces, King of Bosphorus (i.e. the Crimea) under Antoninus Pius. The busts which follow are mostly portraits of nameless Greek philosophers, except 85, which reproduces an ideal type of the fifth century. 95 has been thought to be Sophocles, but with little reason. 96 is a replica, showing by its technique that the original from which it was copied was of bronze, of a portrait in Naples inscribed with the name of the orator Lysias, a very fine work. If that inscription be accepted as genuine, 15 cannot be a portrait of the orator. 97 is Theophrastus, the successor of Aristotle as head of the Lyceum.

In the centre of the room is a **seated statue**, the motive of which may be traced to a Greek original of the fourth century B.C. by comparing a statue in Naples, inscribed with the name of Moschion, an Athenian tragic poet. A modern head was added in the sixteenth century, and the statue has been called by the name of M. Claudius Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse.

On the walls of this room may be seen a number of reliefs, several of which belong to a frieze ornamented with sacrificial instruments and parts of ships. On the R. of the window is one (121) which represents a harbour and landscape : this class of relief is often called Hellenistic, but few of the extant examples can be earlier than the Imperial period. On the **L. wall** is one (111) in *rosso antico*, representing a sacrifice to Hygieia, the goddess of health, the subject of which is almost exactly reproduced on a medallion struck by Marcus Aurelius ; also (110) a relief in

“archaistic” style, representing Pan and the Nymphs, with the signature of Callimachus, possibly added in order to claim the work for an Attic artist of that name who lived towards the close of the fifth century B.C. On the opposite wall (118) is a curious Bacchic relief, other replicas of which exist; the original must have been of the Hellenistic period. The subjects cannot be satisfactorily explained.

We pass through the further door and enter the **large hall** or salone. In the centre of the room we notice five statues made of dark material. In the middle is (3) an almost repulsive figure in black basalt representing Heracles as a child of colossal dimensions; it rests on a marble base decorated with reliefs showing the birth, upbringing and triumph of Zeus in the “archaising” style of Neo-Attic art. On either side of it (2, 4) are two **Centaurs** in *bigio morato*. They were found in Hadrian’s Villa near Tivoli, and we learn from the inscriptions upon their bases that they were the work of two Greek artists, Aristeas and Papias, of Aphrodisias in Caria (S. W. Asia Minor): but these were only copyists of the second century A.D. belonging to the school whose portraits we have already noticed (p. 114). They chose black marble in order to give the effect of bronze, and certainly showed great technical dexterity in imitating bronze technique, with all its undercutting and minuteness of detail. The originals were of the late Hellenistic period, and more particularly of the Rhodian school, as we see by comparing the head of the old Centaur with that of the Laocoon (p. 301). Originally each of the Centaurs was ridden by a small figure of Eros (Cupid); the old one had his hands tied behind his back and the merciless little god was tugging at his hair; the young one listens smilingly to the Love-god’s advice. In the replica in the Vatican (p. 286) he holds a hare in his uplifted R. arm; but this is a restoration—probably a wrong one. In any case the figures symbolise the contrasted effects of love on old and young. The two figures at the ends of the row (1, 5) represent Zeus and Asclepius.

The statues which surround the walls illustrate most of

the principal phases of Greek and Græco-Roman sculpture, and several of them are worthy of attention on that account, although their artistic merit, whether as copies or as originals, is not of the highest. In the first place, we have **fifth-century art** represented by the two **Amazons** (19 and 33), two statues of **Apollo** (20, 30) and one of Hera (24). Let us take the **Apollos** first. 20 is notable for its powerful muscular build, which has led some archæologists to consider it as in origin an **athletic type**, adapted by copyists in Roman times to the representation of Apollo. We hear of a certain **Pythagoras** of Rhegium (Reggio in Calabria) as the first to represent the hair in a naturalistic way, and to indicate the veins in his athlete-statues; and this is certainly a work to which such a description might apply. Others think that **Calamis**, an Athenian artist, who lived just before Phidias in the early half of the fifth century B.C., and was renowned for the "delicacy and grace" of his work, may have been the sculptor of the original—evidently a famous work, since several copies are known, amongst them a fine one in the British Museum, usually called the "Choisent-Gouffier" Apollo, and another in Athens, found near the Theatre of Dionysus, and generally called the "Apollo on the Omphalos" because it was wrongly supposed to have stood on a representation of the Delphic Omphalos (a conical stone supposed to mark the "navel of the earth") found near to it. The legs are not correctly restored: in the original the pose was stiffer, and the graceful contrast between the leg upon which the weight of the statue rested, and that which was free—the creation of the great fifth century artists—was not emphasised. The figure should probably be restored with a bow in the right hand and a branch of bay in the left. 30 belongs to a somewhat more advanced stage of art. If not, as some have thought, copied from a work of Phidias himself, it certainly proceeds from his school. We can still trace the influence of athletic sculpture in the powerfully built frame, but there is more naturalism than in No. 20. It is unfortunately not clear that the head, which has been reset, belonged to the statue,

but at any rate the traces of flowing locks upon the shoulders and the quiver on the support prove that this is no human figure, but Apollo. The surface has suffered much from modern polishing.

We now turn to the **Amazons**. Pliny tells a story that four sculptors of the fifth century—Phidias, Polyclitus, Cresilas, and Phradmon—executed statues of Amazons in competition for the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and that Polyclitus was adjudged the winner by the votes of the artists themselves. The anecdote is hardly worthy of credence; but there were doubtless such statues at Ephesus, where (according to the local legend) the Amazons had taken sanctuary when pursued by Heracles and Dionysus. Three of these Amazons have been identified with some approach to certainty. That of Phidias is represented by No. 4 in the room of the Gladiator, which will be described presently; that of Polyclitus by a statue in the Braccio Nuovo (p. 327). This latter has a wound in her R. breast; but her attitude—she is resting her weight on the R. foot, and raising her R. arm very much in the pose of the Apollo in this room (No. 7)—would tend to increase the pain of her wound. The type represented by No. 19 and (better still) by No. 33 (which retains its original head) almost seems like a **criticism** in marble on the work of **Polyclitus**. The Amazon rests her weight not on the R. but on the L. foot, and with her L. hand (if rightly restored) draws her tunic away from the wounds in her R. side, while with her R. hand—as is shown by the design on an ancient gem copied from this type—she grasps and leans upon her spear. In the expression of the face, too, there is a marked advance on the Polyclitan type, and when we compare the portrait of Pericles (cf. p. 281) we recognise the work of the Attic sculptor **Cresilas**. The name Sosicles, engraved on the support of the L. leg, is that of the copyist. Let us now turn to (34) an imposing figure of the matronly goddess Hera,¹ which should be compared with the colossal statue in the Vatican Rotunda (p. 278). The style of the drapery and

¹ Or perhaps Demeter (Ceres).

the quiet dignity of the figure enable us to date the original in the latter half of the fifth century and ascribe it to the Attic school, perhaps to **Alcamenes**, a pupil of Phidias.

We come next to **fourth-century** art, and notice two more types of **Apollo**, which clearly illustrate the difference in spirit between this period and that of the early fifth century. Upon No. 7 has been placed a head belonging to an earlier type, represented by the very similar, but undraped, figure in the room of the dying Gaul. The pose of the R. arm is similar to that of the wounded Amazon of Polyclitus, but this is the only survival of fifth-century tradition. Apollo is about to awaken by his touch the music of the lyre upon which his L. hand rests, but for the moment he is meditating on the song he is to utter. The forms are no longer those of the trained athlete, but full and delicately modelled. The drapery which enwraps the lower limbs is an addition by the artist, who modified the type above-mentioned; the original creation was due to the **school of Praxiteles**. Another Apollo (31) illustrates the search for new poses, in which Praxiteles led the way, and may also be set down to the credit of his school, if not of the master himself. And in 21 we have an example of a motive which—though common in painting, as the vases show—was introduced into sculpture in the fourth century. It is hard to say whether the youth who raises his R. hand while his L. rests upon the leg, which is supported on a rock, is but a mortal athlete or Hermes the Orator, who seems to have been represented in this pose. In any case the work seems to be copied from an original of **Lysippus** or his school. Lastly, No. 12 is a fourth-century athlete type, hard to assign to any school. It may be copied from a work of the Corinthian **Euphranor**.

Amongst the types which date from the Hellenistic period the most interesting is the **old woman** (22), a figure which was once thought to represent the nurse of the Niobids (cf. p. 324). It clearly, however, belongs to a much later date, and in its repulsive realism recalls the drunken old

woman in the gallery (p. 109). Clearly it once formed part of a group, the action of which must have accounted for the terror expressed in the attitude (the head is modern). 28 is interesting as an example of the new ideal of divinity created by Alexandrian artists to embody the conceptions of Græco-Egyptian religion. It represents **Harpocrates**, or "the child Horus," son of Isis and Osiris, and the childish gesture which the Greeks noticed in Egyptian statues of Horus was understood to betoken silence. Thus Harpocrates became the God of Silence. The statue was found in the Villa of Hadrian, for whom Egyptian cults had a powerful attraction. No. 6 is a replica of the Satyr in the next room, to be described presently.

The **Roman period** is represented by two colossal busts—of Trajan (9) and Antoninus Pius (25)—which are probably modern, and some portrait statues. 14 (sometimes called "Marius") is a very moderate piece of work of the late Republican period, chiefly interesting as showing the fashion of wearing the toga; 10 is a nude figure derived from a fifth-century athletic type, upon which a head of Augustus has been set. 13 is Hadrian, with the attributes of Mars, 15 a Roman lady to whom a portrait-head of the second century has been assigned by the restorer; 32 Marcus Aurelius. The poorest, but most interesting, of these Roman works is 34, which represents a man and woman with the attributes of Venus and Mars—the progenitors of the Julian house. The artist has combined in this group two types differing in style and date. The "Mars" is modelled on a fifth-century Ares of the Attic school, the "Venus" is taken from the "Aphrodite holding a shield," whose history can be traced through a long succession of variants, the most famous of which is the "Venus of Milo" in the Louvre. No better example could be found of the unintelligent adaptation of Greek types in the workshops of the Empire. Notice finally the curious statue of a **hunter** (27) with the traits of a Roman of the Antonine period, holding a hare (mostly restored) in his uplifted R. hand. The sculptor has used and modified an early

athletic type to represent the patron of the freedman Polytimus, whose name is inscribed on the plinth.

High up on the walls are a number of busts and heads placed on brackets, which are difficult to study. Perhaps the most interesting are 38, which seems to belong to the time of Gallienus (cf. p. 115), and resembles a portrait in the Braccio Nuovo (p. 326), 39, recalling Philip the Arabian (cf. p. 329), and 66, which has been thought to represent Diocletian, and is in any case a rare and interesting example of the portraiture of the late third century A.D.

We now pass into the **Room of the Faun**, which takes its name from the statue in red marble (*Rosso antico*) which stands in the centre of the room. This was found in Hadrian's villa, in another part of which the replica, also in *Rosso antico*, now in the Vatican (p. 299), came to light. The use of a costly material and the elaborate and finicking treatment of detail remind us of the Centaurs in the Salone, and we are tempted to ascribe the red Satyrs to the same group of copyists. More than this, the original, which was certainly of the Hellenistic age, may well have been a work of the school which produced the Centaurs. The R. hand has been rightly restored with a bunch of grapes which the Satyr is holding up in delight, while with his L. he clasps an armful of grapes and pomegranates. The pose of the statue is traceable to Lysippus, but the realistic conception and treatment of the Satyr as a peasant type belongs to a much later time.

The Satyr stands on a base in which have been inserted four slabs belonging to an **altar** dedicated, as the inscription within the laurel-wreath on the back tells us, to "Jupiter the Best and Greatest, the Sun, Serapis," by a certain Scipio Orfitus. From the titles which he bears it is certain that he was a personage who lived at the close of the third century A.D.—the last member known to us of a family distinguished throughout the history of the Empire; but it is equally certain that the altar is much earlier in date than his time. Probably it was executed to the order of one of the earlier Scipios in the **first century A.D.** Notice

the remarkable relief on the side facing the window—an armed figure riding upon a bull and holding an olive-branch and cornucopia, who approaches a reclining earth-goddess ; in the background is a fortified precinct within which are cypress trees. The rider must represent one of the Syrian *baalim* or sun-gods, and the altar bears testimony to the early introduction of such worships into Imperial Rome. On either side of the room are characteristic sarcophagi representing (3) Selene visiting Endymion, (18) a battle of Greeks and Amazons. Upon these are placed heads, amongst which we may note (6) a female head, probably intended for Isis ; the back was veiled, and some ornament, such as a lotus-flower, was inserted in front ; also two heads of Dionysius (19 and 21), the latter very graceful and feminine, and hence often miscalled Ariadne. In the far right-hand corner is a statuette of a **boy strangling a goose**, which reproduces a famous work of the early Hellenistic period by Boethus of Chalcedon—perhaps the earliest masterpiece of true *genre* in sculpture. The same spirit breathes in (8) the child playing with the mask of Silenus. Close to the entrance-door are three altars—to Neptune, Calm, and the Winds—found at Antium (Porto d'Anzo) ; on the first of these is a colossal head of Heracles, belonging to the gigantic type of the hero created towards the end of the fourth century B.C. There are some Roman busts in this room, chiefly of the second century : one (2) is of the third, and has the name of the subject—Cethegus—inscribed upon it. It illustrates the late fashion of wearing the toga with carefully laid folds across the breast (*contabulatio*).

On the wall opposite the entrance will be seen a **bronze tablet** once famous under the name of “Lex Regia,” to which Cola di Rienzo appealed in vindication of the rights of the Roman people. Modern criticism has shown that it is a fragment of the Act formally passed on the accession of Vespasian in A.D. 69 (as on that of each emperor in turn), conferring upon him the various rights, offices, and privileges which made up the Imperial prerogative. It is couched in the form proper to a decree of the Senate, but was doubtless

submitted for ratification to the nominally sovereign people ; and the several clauses are interesting as showing how additions were made from time to time to the prerogatives of the emperor. On the opposite wall are reliefs and inscriptions, some of which belong to tombstones of the *Equites Singulares*—a force of Imperial household cavalry.

We now pass into the **Room of the Dying Gaul**, which contains the statues removed to Paris by Napoleon I and restored after his fall. It takes its name from the figure in the centre of the room, so famous under the name of the "**Dying Gladiator.**" This statue once belonged to the Ludovisi, and was probably discovered when their villa was built on the site of the Park of Sallust (p. 194), together with that of the Gaul and his wife, which we shall see in the Museo delle Terme (p. 209). Both are copies—probably made in Pergamon itself—from figures set up by Attalus I (B.C. 241–197) on the citadel of Pergamon to celebrate his victories over the Gallic tribes who had established themselves in Asia Minor and, whether as mercenaries or as raiders, harried their neighbours on all sides. The Celtic type, with its coarse, mane-like hair and unshaven upper lip, is clearly indicated ; and the twisted golden collar (*torques*) was, as we know, regularly worn by the Gauls. It has been thought that the warrior has inflicted the fatal wound with his own hand in order to escape captivity, but a self-inflicted wound would not be on the R. side. He has broken the horn which lies beside him, and is gradually sinking in his death-agony upon his shield, a lonely and pathetic figure which, in spite of all the uncouthness of the barbaric form, cannot fail to arouse our sympathy.

No. 2, a majestic **female divinity**, probably Persephone, seems to be a work of the later Pergamene school : a small but characteristic detail is the indication of creases in the drapery. This school (which flourished in the second century B.C.) was eclectic in its method ; and so we find that the head of the goddess is inspired by earlier Attic types. Next to this is (3) a colossal head in which we re-

cognise a highly idealised portrait of **Alexander the Great**. In the hair are seven holes for the insertion of golden rays which marked Alexander as the Sun-God. 4 is another member of the group of Amazons mentioned on p. 123; but she is unwounded, and the most probable explanation of the pose is that she was planting her spear firmly on the ground in order to use it as a leaping pole to mount her horse. The spear (or pole) is shown in an ancient gem. We are told that the Amazon of Phidias was "leaning on her spear," and as those of Polyclitus and Cresilas are accounted for, it is natural to seek that of the Attic master in this statue; unfortunately neither this nor any replica (such as that in the Vatican, p. 291) possesses its original head. Beside it we see (5) a fine **head of Dionysus**, which, like No. 21, in the Room of the Faun, has been wrongly supposed to be female and called Ariadne. The dreamy, effeminate face embodies an ideal of the god created by the school of Praxiteles and gradually perfected in the Hellenistic period, to which this head belongs. 6 is a curious figure of no great artistic merit found in Hadrian's Villa, together with the colossal head of Isis now in the Museo Chiaramonti (p. 314), and seems to represent a priestess of that goddess carrying water for the purification connected with her worship. 7 has been mentioned in connection with the similar Apollo in the Salone. 8 is a very fine **portrait of a Greek philosopher**—possibly even an original. It has been called by the name of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, for no better reason than the fact (which is itself doubtful) that it was found in a villa believed to have been the residence of the Antonine Emperors. It bears no resemblance, however, to the bust at Naples inscribed with the name of Zeno—if that be indeed the Stoic and not a later Epicurean. The statue is a masterpiece, not so much because of its realism—although the artist has spared no detail, however unsightly, which he saw in his subject—but by reason of its intimate grasp and convincing revelation of character—of soul expressing itself through body. 9 is a good example of Hellenistic *genre-sculp-*

ture—a girl protecting her pet bird from an animal, probably a cat or dog (the snake is a false restoration). 10 is the famous **Marble Faun**, a good copy of the “Resting Satyr” of Praxiteles, which was one of the most characteristic creations of his genius. Notice firstly the **pose**, the charm of which rests in the rhythm of its curve. This was the invention of Praxiteles and became almost a mannerism in his hands. Then observe the **modelling** of the bodily forms, so different from that of the athletes of the fifth century with their sharply outlined muscles. It is here that the copies fail us most of all. Some will remember a torso in the Louvre belonging to a replica of this type, and so immeasurably superior to the other copies in the exquisite modelling of its surface that it has been thought to be the original. Lastly, consider the **spirit** of the work. Praxiteles has transformed the wild, half-bestial creature haunting the forests into a dreamy, sensuous embodiment of undying youth, sunk in the *rêverie* induced by the music of his flute. Only the pointed ears hint at the animal nature of the Satyr. No. 12 presents a curious problem. It was found in Hadrian’s Villa, and is often supposed to be a portrait of Antinous (see p. 279). But though the features seem too individual for a purely ideal type, they are not those of Antinous. Unfortunately the object once held in the R. hand is lost, and we cannot be sure that it was the wand of Hermes, as some think, or a fishing-rod, which might possibly be an attribute of Narcissus. Probably the statue—or its original, for the smooth, lifeless work is that of Hadrian’s time—adorned a grave-monument and represented the dead person in a semi-divine form. 14 is also from Hadrian’s Villa, and is similar to 12 in its execution. It is often called “Flora,” but is merely a *genre* figure. The original, as the undercutting of the drapery shows, was of bronze. 15 represents a priestess of Isis, as the peculiar fashion in which the dress is fastened shows, and has been restored accordingly. 16 is a remarkable bust of the Early Empire. It has been described as a portrait of Brutus, the murderer of Cæsar, a view now generally

abandoned, or again as a bust of Virgil, from a supposed resemblance to a mosaic found in N. Africa upon which the poet is represented. Strong reasons, however, exist for believing that it represents Agrippa Postumus, the youngest of Augustus' grandsons, and the "black sheep" of his family, who was put to death on the accession of Tiberius.

Leaving the Museo Capitolino, we cross the Piazza and enter the **Palazzo dei Conservatori**, in which are preserved the bronzes and historical sculpture forming the nucleus of the municipal collection, together with the most important works discovered in recent times which have become the property of the municipality.

We enter a **courtyard**, and notice in the portico to R. and L. two colossal statues, supposed to represent **Julius Cæsar** and **Augustus**. That on the R. of the entrance may be a portrait of the Dictator, though it certainly is not a contemporary one; the other represented an **Admiral**, as we see by the ship's beak carved upon its plinth, but the head has been reset and may not have belonged to the statue.

Along the **L. wall** are ranged a series of interesting reliefs discovered in the Piazza di Pietra, which once adorned the stylobate of the temple now converted into the Stock Exchange (p. 182). Whatever this building was, the reliefs certainly personify the various **provinces of the Roman Empire**, and date from the Antonine period. In style and conception they mark a compromise between the **classicism** which was then in fashion and the **realistic** Roman spirit. The figures were placed underneath the columns of the temple, while the trophies (in flat relief) decorated the inter-columnar spaces. Unfortunately these reliefs were found at different times, and have been scattered in different collections—three at Naples, one in the Palazzo Farnese, one in the Palazzo Odescalchi, one in the Vatican (p. 332), and two high up in the façade of the Villa Doria Pamfili. Those which are here preserved, however, suffice to give a good impression of a branch of art in which Roman sculptors

found much scope for their invention. Some are simply conventional female figures, clad in Greek costume, whose attitude indicates, with restraint and dignity, the regret of the conquered people for their lost freedom : such is the queenly figure with **folded arms** interpreted as Germany or Gaul. In others there is more attempt at characterisation—the short crisp hair of the figure on the R. betokens an **African province** (Mauretania or Numidia) and the drapery knotted at the waist of another figure suggests an **Egyptian** fashion. Others, again, are distinguished by their national arms—the short battle-axe of the “Ungaria”—as the modern inscription calls it—points to the **North**, and the cuirass worn over tunic and trousers is thought to belong to **Spain**.

Above the figure of Egypt is a **colossal head**, which with other fragments (on the R. side of the court) belonged to a statue found in the Basilica of Constantine (p. 78) and almost certainly representing the first Christian Emperor. The head is a fine example of the portraiture of that age when sculpture had ceased to be naturalistic and become almost monumental. Probably the head and extremities only were of marble, the rest of wood plated with gilt bronze. Opposite the entrance is a statue restored as Rome, at whose feet is a keystone decorated with a figure in relief which represents a mourning province, and on either side are statues of **barbarians** in dark marble which remind us of those of the Dacians on the columns of the Arch of Constantine.

Notice on the R. wall the urn which once contained the ashes of Agrippina the elder, wife of Germanicus, and was used in the Middle Ages as a measure for corn.

Turning to the L. we see at the bottom of the staircase a modern imitation of the *Columna rostrata*, or “column of the beaks,” which was set up in honour of Gaius Duilius, the first great Roman admiral, who defeated the Carthaginians at Mylæ (N. of Sicily) in 260 B.C. Beneath it is an inscription recording his exploit—not, however, that which was engraved in the third century B.C., but a restoration executed under the Early Empire, when ancient monuments

of this sort were refurbished. Beyond this is a statue of Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, who held the office of Senator of Rome in the thirteenth century, worthy of notice as illustrating the difference between ancient and mediæval portrait-sculpture. Ascending the staircase we notice on the L. wall a **relief** representing **M. Curtius** leaping into the chasm in the Forum which bore his name (p. 60). The clumsy style of the sculpture shows its late date—about the end of the third century A.D. Upon the back of the slab is an inscription set up by L. Nævius Surdinus, the praetor whose name was inscribed upon the tribunal in the Forum; and the stone was used at a much later time (possibly after the great fire of A.D. 285) in restoring the balustrade which enclosed the Lacus Curtius. It has been suggested that the relief was then copied from an archaic monument; but it may well have been due to the invention of the third-century sculptor.

Upon the two landings of the staircase and the R. wall of the corridor at the top are several panels with **historical reliefs** of the second century. Three of these (on the first landing) belonged to a triumphal arch set up in honour of Marcus Aurelius' victories over the barbarians on the Danube (A.D. 171-5); eight others of the same series were used to decorate the Arch of Constantine (see p. 251). One of those which we see here represents the Emperor receiving the submission of barbarians of German type on the field of battle. The others depict his triumph, celebrated in A.D. 176. In the first we see him in his triumphal car, beside which is a youthful ideal figure—the military divinity "**Honos**"—approaching the arch which gives access to the Capitol. The second shows the sacrifice offered in fulfilment of his vow to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, whose temple is seen in the background. We know that this temple was hexastyle—i.e. had six columns in the front—but it is here shown with four only. This was the last of the four temples erected on the foundations originally laid by the kings. The first was burnt in the civil war of Sulla and Marius (83 B.C.), the second in that of Vitellius and the adherents of Vespasian

(A.D. 69) ; the third—rebuilt by Vespasian—was destroyed in the great fire which raged in A.D. 81. Domitian was the builder of that here represented. Though no trace of its sculptures remains, this and another relief (now lost) enable us to reconstruct the crowded group of pediment statues. The three divinities to whom the temple was dedicated—Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—were represented in the centre, with other gods, and the chariots of sun and moon to L. and R. Beside the moon's car was the forge of Vulcan, balanced by a similar group on the opposite side. Reclining figures filled each angle of the pediment. The formal symmetry of the composition was borrowed from Greek practice : but the poverty of invention of the Roman artist is shown in the lack of a dominating idea giving organic unity to the group, such as we find e.g. in the Parthenon pediments. Notice the reliefs in the mingling of real and ideal elements which characterises Roman historical art. M. Aurelius in his triumphal car is heralded by a human trumpeter, but beside him walks an idealised youth thought by some to typify the Genius of the Roman people, but more probably representing Honos, a divinity worshipped by the army, and a winged Victory hovers over his head. The scene of sacrifice is in the main realistic. Notice the boy acolyte or *camillus* with long curls, the flute-player and the attendant girt about the waist who holds the sacrificial axe ; but behind the Emperor stands an elderly figure, obviously ideal in type, who seems to represent the Senate. Compare with this the fourth relief on this landing, where the head of the Emperor has been restored—wrongly—as M. Aurelius in order to correspond with the other panels. It should almost certainly be Hadrian, whose home-coming to Rome (he was in the East at the time of his accession) is here symbolised. The goddess of Rome hands him the globe as the token of universal dominion, and the ideal figures by whom he is accompanied (as well as by his standard-bearers and lictors) seem to typify Senate and People. The reliefs in the corridor and on the upper landing belong to the same style

of historical art, and in all probability to the reign of Hadrian (the head of the Emperor is largely restored in both). In the first we see Hadrian delivering an oration, which he reads from a scroll to the assembled people ; in the second the deification of an Empress is symbolically represented. A winged female figure—the goddess of Eternity—is bearing the Empress to the skies from the funeral pyre, beside which are on the one side her husband, on the other a youth who personifies the Campus Martius, where the funeral ceremony took place. The two reliefs formed at one time part of the decoration of an arch which formerly spanned the Corso near to S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and was called the *Arco di Portogallo* because the Portuguese Embassy was close by. It was destroyed in 1662, and we cannot be sure that it was really (or wholly) an ancient construction. It seems more likely that it had been decorated with fragments of ancient sculpture found in the Campus Martius ; and in this case our reliefs may have come from the spot where the ceremonial cremation of the emperors of the second century was carried out—the *Ustrinum Antoninorum*, as it was called—which was under or near the modern Monté Citorio. The Empress, then, will be **Sabina**, the wife of Hadrian, who died in A. D. 136, and the speech delivered by the Emperor her funeral oration.

The door which faces us as we enter the corridor leads into the Halls of the Conservators, chiefly notable for their modern frescoes, but containing also a few ancient busts and other works. Note in the first room two large marble vases with reliefs, of the kind produced under the Early Empire for the decoration of gardens and parks by the “Neo-Attic” school, already mentioned.

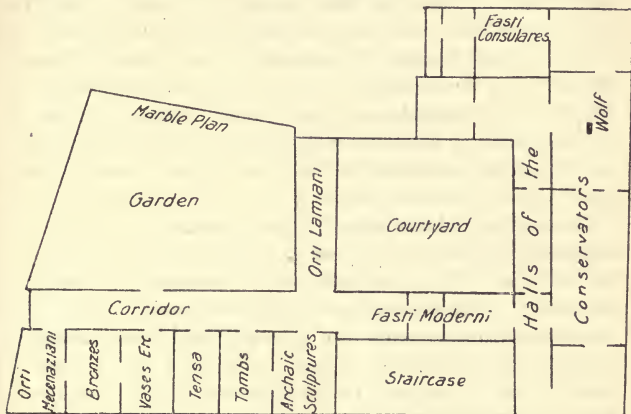
In the second hall is the famous **Bronze Wolf**, which was preserved throughout the Middle Ages in the Lateran, but presented to the Conservators by Sixtus IV. At some time in the sixteenth century the twins were added : the story that they were the work of Guglielmo della Porta is improbable. We read of a similar statue set up by the ædiles of 295 B.C., beside the Ficus Ruminalis, beneath

which, according to legend, Romulus and Remus were suckled ; but the Capitoline wolf is far too archaic in style to have been executed at so late a date. Cicero mentions, however, another wolf, dedicated on the Capitol and struck by lightning in 65 B.C. Traces of damage which might have been so caused may be seen on the hind legs of the animal, and there can be little doubt that the two are to be identified. This leaves the date of the original an open question, and the style of the work seems to point to **Early Ionic art** of the sixth century B.C. If we could be sure that the twins were originally represented, we should have in it the earliest evidence for the legend of the foundation of Rome.

In one of the halls at the further end of the building are the fragments of the *Fasti Consulares* and *Fasti triumphales*, giving the lists of the consuls of the Republic and of all the generals who had celebrated a triumph, which once adorned the walls of the Regia (p. 74).

Turning to the L. at the first opening in the corridor we enter the three rooms of the "Fasti Moderni," or lists of Roman magistrates. In these are a number of partrait-busts, both Greek and Roman. The most interesting is that in the middle of the **L. wall** in the first room, which has the inscription "**Anacreon**" in Greek characters. The pose of the head shows that the original was not a bust, but a statue ; and we possess a copy of this statue, now in Copenhagen. The poet of love and wine was represented singing to the lyre (notice the slightly parted lips) ; and the style of the statue shows it to be a creation of fifth-century art—one of the earliest of Greek portraits. The first portrait on the L. is that of a Roman of the late Republic, who has been identified without reason as C. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the grandfather of Nero. In the third room on the L. is a **female portrait** wearing a turban decorated with strings of precious stones. The pupils of the eyes are rendered by deep drill-holes, once, no doubt, filled with glass or paste. Though the face is not without expression, it clearly belongs to a

period when the naturalism of ancient art was extinct, probably to the fifth or sixth century A.D. From a comparison with similar portraits on ivory plaques of that period, it has been identified either with the Byzantine Empress **Ariadne**, wife of Zeno (A.D. 476-91), and afterwards of his successor Anastasius I (A.D. 491-518), who owed his advancement to her favour, or else with the Gothic Queen **Amalasuntha**, daughter of Theodoric, who assumed the reins of power on



PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI

(FIRST FLOOR.)

his death in A.D. 526 as regent for her son Athalaric, and was afterwards exiled and put to death by his successor Theodahad. Note also the bust of a boy wearing a closely fitting cap, which marks him as a driver in chariot-races (cf. p. 218), and another of a youth whose features are clearly of **African** type (thick nose, prominent lips, and high cheek-bones).

In the second room, on the R., is an **altar** which illustrates Augustus' reorganisation of the city of Rome. There was an ancient worship of the Lares—gods of the land and

house by origin—in the *vici* or “wards” of the city, which had fallen into neglect. When Augustus divided Rome into fourteen regions, he revived this worship, but with a significant change. The Lares were now called *Lares Augusti*, and there was coupled with them the “Genius” of the Emperor. The ceremonies of this cult were placed in charge of the *Vicomagistri* or “presidents of the ward,” and this petty dignity attracted the members of the city *plebs* and confirmed their devotion to the Government. On the front of our altar—set up by a body of such *vicomagistri* in A.D. 2—we see the sacrifice of a pig to the Lares (compare the scene on the triumphal relief of M. Aurelius described above); on either side is a Lar, represented as a statue on its base, bearing a laurel branch, and on the back are the remains of an oak wreath—the “civic crown” conferred by the Roman people on Augustus.

Having passed through the three rooms, we come to a **corridor** with rooms to R. and L. On the R. is a group in the style of Pergamene art which represented a combat between a snake-footed giant and two Satyrs. The first opening on the R. leads into the **Sala degli orti Lamiani** or “Hall of the Park of Lamia.” We know that a certain Ælius Lamia—perhaps the aristocratic friend of Horace addressed in three of his Odes—had once possessed a park on the Esquiline adjoining that of Mæcenas, in which the body of Caligula was secretly burnt and buried; and it has been supposed that the Villa Palombara, pulled down in order to build the new streets to the S. of Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, occupied its site. Important finds of sculpture—including the famous Massimi discobolus (see p. 219)—have been made from time to time in this region; and the antiques collected in this room at least give a vivid impression of the crowd of marbles with which the parks of Roman nobles and emperors were peopled, and also of the eclectic taste which put works of all periods of art side by side. By the **R. wall**, for example, we see (36) the head of a **Centaur** which is worthy of comparison with that of the Centaur in the Capitoline Museum, but may belong to the

Pergamene rather than to the Rhodian school, and beside it (42) a bust of **Heracles** derived from an original of Scopas, known to us from a fine statue in Lansdowne House. At the end of the room on this side are two **statues of girls** (one wrongly restored as a Muse with a lyre) which belong to the Praxitelean school—or rather, perhaps, to that which drew inspiration from his models and reproduced them with many variations in the early Hellenistic age. Facing the door is a half-length figure of the Emperor **Commodus**, the unworthy son and successor of M. Aurelius, with the attributes of Hercules—the form under which he delighted to receive adoration. It is well worthy of study as one of the finest examples of the new style in sculpture which dates from the Antonine period (cf. p. 38): note the contrast between the highly polished surface of the face and the deeply drilled hair and beard with their *chiaroscuro* of light and shadow. The pedestal was hidden by kneeling figures of Amazons supporting a shield, beneath which is a celestial globe. We are reminded that Commodus bore the name *Amazonius*, and gave it to the month of December in the year whose months were renamed after his titles. Beside the figure are placed two **Tritons**, obviously composed as pendants. It is by no means certain that they were originally grouped with the statue. In the middle of the hall is a nude female statue commonly known as the **Venus of the Esquiline**. The meaning of the figure is determined by the vase adorned with a serpent and the box of flowers at its side; these indicate that the girl is a priestess or at least a worshipper of Isis. But the style of the figure, especially of the head, point to fifth-century Greek art, and the sculptor clearly belonged to the archaising school of the Late Republic and Early Empire which harked back to Greek—especially Peloponnesian—models. The question must still be asked: What was the significance of the original? It has been conjectured that the subject was mythological: Atalanta was portrayed in the moment when, after bathing and anointing herself, she tied up her hair before starting on her famous

race. It may be, however, that a mortal athlete—like the girl-racer of the Galleria dei Candelabri (p. 337)—was represented. Apart from the symbols of Isis worship, the late date of the work is made clear by the naturalistic modelling of the lower part of the body, which is out of keeping with the archaic severity of the head and chest. Of the statues on the **L. wall** the most interesting are those which illustrate Hellenistic *genre*-sculpture—the **shepherdess** carrying a lamb (head restored), the **old fisherman**, and the boy aiming a nut at a pyramid of four nuts on the ground. Beside the door is the tombstone of the infant prodigy, Q. Sulpicius Maximus, who, as the inscription records, was successful in a competition for extemporisation in Greek verse founded by Domitian, and died of overwork at the age of eleven and a half! His poem—which deals with the wrath of Zeus against Apollo for lending his chariot to Phaethon—is inscribed on the sides of the niche in which stands the figure of the child, who probably held his *stilus* in the hand which has been broken off. This interesting monument was not found in the “Gardens of Lamia,” but had been built into the wall of Aurelian near the Porta Salara (p. 358).

By the **L. wall** of the corridor we see a headless statue of Apollo holding a lyre and wearing the flowing robes of a *citharædus*. The style of the drapery is that of the school of Phidias. Beyond are two colossal statues of **Roman magistrates**, one elderly and one youthful—they may have been father and son, as they were discovered together—belonging to the fourth century A.D. and affording an admirable illustration of the stiff conventional art of that period, as well as of the costume of the time. Each of them holds in his uplifted hand the *mappa* or handkerchief which was dropped as a signal for the starting of the chariot races in the circus, and is clad in the full dress proper to such an occasion—a close-fitting sleeved tunic, a “dalmatic” or upper tunic with shorter and looser sleeves, and an embroidered toga; he also wears the high boots of the senator. Notice also a **female statue** of severe fifth-

century style reconstructed from many fragments: two **runners** about to start in almost identical attitudes, from bronze originals of the early fourth century B.C.; a relief in the so-called "Hellenistic" style with landscape and buildings, and at the end of the corridor a large sarcophagus decorated with a representation of the Hunt of the Calydonian Boar—a subject often found on sarcophagi, chosen, perhaps, on account of the early death of Meleager, the hero of the scene. Note that the faces of the husband and wife whose figures adorn the lid of the sarcophagus are only blocked out. The makers of sarcophagi kept numbers of them in stock, and only executed portraits to order if they were required.

By the **R. wall** observe a small slab with a representation of stage-buildings in relief, and the **tombstone of a shoemaker**, C. Julius Helius. In a niche is the bust of Helius, a bald-headed, elderly man, portrayed with ruthless realism—an admirable character sketch of a shrewd, close-fisted tradesman. Two lasts are carved on the pediment above the niche. The date is about A.D. 100.

Here we pass into the **Garden**, which contains statues of minor importance: notice, however, the group of a **lion devouring a horse** by one of the fountains, which stood in the Capitol Piazza during the Middle Ages (p. 102), and was admired by Michelangelo. On the far wall of the garden are arranged the fragments of the **Marble Plan of Rome** once attached to the façade of the building now converted into the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano. Most of these fragments were discovered in the sixteenth century, and several have been lost. The remainder, together with some found in recent years, have been arranged as far as possible in their proper positions and the main outlines of the missing portion filled in. The orientation customary in modern plans is reversed, and the top represents the south, the scale being about $\frac{1}{2\frac{1}{5}}$. The plan in its present form was engraved under Septimius Severus, as we see from the inscription *Severi et Antonini Augg. nn.* (i.e. *Augustorum nostrorum*) on the fragment which shows the

Clivus Victoriæ; but this was only a restoration, made necessary by the great fire at the close of Commodus' reign, of the plan originally traced in the reign of Vespasian, who caused a fresh survey of the city to be made.

From the garden we return through the corridor to the rooms opening on to it on the further side. The farthest from the entrance is the **Sala degli orti Mecenziani**, or "hall of the park of Mæcnas," which contains the statues found in that part of the Esquiline where the gardens of Mæcnas (p. 221) are believed to have been situated. In the **L. corner** is a colossal **head** said to have been found between Narni and Todi, and identified as Mæcnas from its likeness to two ancient gems, signed by the artists Dioscurides and Solon. One if not both of these seem to be modern; but a genuine example was extant in the seventeenth century. It is, however, a pure conjecture that they represent Mæcnas; and it has been suspected that this head is a modern work based on the gem of Dioscurides. Few ancient heads are in such a perfect state of preservation.

To the **R. of the door** is a beautiful relief representing a **dancing Mænad**, brandishing a knife in her uplifted R. hand and half of a fawn in her L. She belongs to a group of figures which pictured the rout of Bacchus in a series of flowing curves of the utmost grace. The consummate skill with which the limbs of the Mænads are shown beneath the almost transparent drapery was one of the most remarkable attainments of Attic sculptors in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. to which the originals belonged. Those who have visited Athens will recall the wonderful fragments of the balustrade which enclosed the precinct of Athena Nike ("Wingless Victory").

By the **R. wall** is a youthful figure wrongly restored with a lyre. It should be compared with the Eros of Centocelle in the Vatican (see p. 289). Passing by a powerfully built warrior in violent action—probably to be restored as Heracles with club in the R. hand—we come to a fine example of the head of that Amazon which we have attributed to Cresilas (see p. 123); the restraint and severity of

fifth-century art enhances the pathos of the expression. The most interesting statue on the opposite side of the room is that of **Marsyas** in *pavonazzetto*. The legend which it illustrates gave imaginative form to the preference of the Greeks for their national instrument—the lyre—as compared with the Phrygian flute. Athena, it was said, invented the flute, but when she saw the reflection of her distended cheeks as she played it, flung it away and solemnly cursed it. The Satyr Marsyas picked it up, mastered its music, and challenged Apollo, the divine lyre-player, to a contest. The Muses awarded the prize to the God, who caused Marsyas to be flayed alive. The first scene in this drama was represented in a famous group by Myron, to which belonged the Marsyas of the Lateran (p. 235); the *finale*, which repelled earlier Greek sculptors, was triumphantly rendered by Hellenistic artists. There is a group of statues in *white* marble which represent Marsyas bound, but without the refinements in the indication of torture which we here see. The type exemplified by this figure and others in *pavonazzetto*—chosen in order to suggest by its red streaks the congestion of blood in the veins of the tortured Satyr—belonged to a group completed by the figures of a slave sharpening his knife on a whetstone, of which there is a copy in Florence, and doubtless also of Apollo. It was the work of one of the later Hellenistic schools which carried the study of anatomy to a point hitherto unattained; we can see, in fact, that the rendering of anatomical detail was the chief interest of the sculptor.

We pass through the door to the L. of the Marsyas into the **Room of the Bronzes**, which contains the nucleus of the collection originally formed under Sixtus IV. The most important of these works had, it seems, been preserved in the Papal palace of the Lateran during the Middle Ages; they are amongst the few ancient statues which have never been buried in the earth. On the R. as we enter is a remarkable bronze head, which commonly bears the name of L. Junius **Brutus**, the founder of the Roman Republic, which has been given to it on account of

the resemblance of its profile to that of the head of Brutus on the coins struck by his great descendant, the murderer of Cæsar. Whether the identification be accepted or not, we certainly have here the portrait of a Roman of the Republic—not, however, the work of a Roman artist, but of a Greek, for with all its hardness of feature it has the touch of idealism which betrays the Hellenic sculptor. It is not of course a contemporary portrait of Brutus, but it *may* have been an ideal representation of the man who gave Rome political freedom, and set in the execution of his sons the crowning example of the cardinal virtue of the Roman—the sacrifice of individual interests and passions for the good of the State.

On the opposite side of the room, to the L. of the door, is a graceful statue of a boy clad in a tunic and sandals, which we might take at first sight for a Greek work, but which really represents a **camillus** or acolyte such as we have seen in attendance at public sacrifices. There is a singular charm in the simplicity and refinement of the youthful figure, which should be restored with a bowl in the R. hand and a pitcher in the L.; but the face lacks expression, and the statue reveals itself on examination as the handiwork of the “classicizing” school of the Late Republic which looked to fifth-century Greece for inspiration. In the details, however, the Roman love of accuracy shows itself. The *camilli* wore the *prætecta*, i.e. a white tunic edged with narrow stripes of purple, and these are represented by an inlay of silver. Notice, too, the hems of the sleeve-openings and the patterns on the sandal-straps.

Very different is the beautiful statue of the **Boy extracting a thorn** from his foot on the opposite side of the door. It is impossible to see in this work anything but a Greek original of the middle of the fifth century B.C. The pose and proportions of the figure show a wonderful observation of nature; only in one detail do we notice the deliberate departure from actuality which the Greeks never shunned if it seemed to them to be demanded by artistic necessity. The long, curling hair would of course naturally fall over

the cheeks and hide the childish face, with its intent gaze, which the artist desired to represent. It is interesting to note that in a statuette of the Hellenistic age now in the British Museum which reproduces the motive of our statue—evidently one of the famous works of ancient art—in a form modified according to the realistic practice of that time, the boy has close, curly hair. There is a difficult question as to the meaning of the statue. The Hellenistic figure just mentioned is without doubt just such a bit of *genre* sculpture as was dear to later Greek art—we have seen some examples already in the Hall of the Gardens of Lamia. But pure *genre* was unknown in the fifth century B.C. ; and two explanations of the motive alone seem possible. Either it was **mythological** ; there was a legend, for example, that Locrus, the ancestor of the Locrians who lived to the N. of the Corinthian Gulf, had founded his city on the spot where, as an oracle foretold, he had wounded his foot with a thorn : or the statue was **votive**, and had reference to an incident in the life of the boy represented—possibly in an athletic contest in which he came off victorious in spite of the injury.

In the corner of the room is a **colossal bronze head**, which has been variously identified. A common view is that it represents Nero in his youth ; but the only detail which lends any colour to this is the wavy hair. The stiff pose and fixed gaze point rather to the Constantinian period. Perhaps one of the sons of Constantine may be the subject. On the opposite side of the door leading into the corridor is a bronze *crater* or mixing-bowl, chiefly interesting on account of its inscription, which tells us that it was presented by Mithridates Eupator—the great king of Pontus who defied so long and so successfully the armies of Rome and was at last conquered by Pompey—to an athletic club. The “Gymnasium” named in the inscription may perhaps have been at Athens, which was taken and sacked by Sulla in 86 B.C.

Notice, too, the fragmentary figures of a **bull** and a **horse**, this latter a fine piece of Greek work ; also a **couch** and

litter, restored (in part wrongly) with a modern wooden framework upon which the ancient fragments of bronze, inlaid with copper and silver, have been fastened.

The next room contains a collection of vases, terra-cottas, and bronze objects which illustrate the importation of Greek fabrics into Italy and their imitation by the Etruscans. From this we pass back to the corridor. To the R. are doorways leading to rooms in one of which is preserved a *tensa*, or ceremonial chariot in which the images of gods were carried in the solemn possession which took place before the celebration of the games in the circus. The ancient bronze plates decorated with scenes from the story of Achilles, together with others of Dionysiac import. The plaques were pressed in moulds, and the same scene is repeated many times. The wooden framework is modern. Next is a room whose floor is partly made of blocks belonging to the enclosing wall of the *Area Capitolina*, or platform upon which the temple of Jupiter stood (p. 101). Besides architectural fragments, the room contains two **Sarcophagi** containing skeletons, found in digging the foundations of the new Law Courts in the Prati di Castello. They were those of a certain Gaius Crepereius Euhodus, and of a girl, Crepereia Tryphæna, perhaps his daughter. The skeleton of this latter is adorned with a golden wreath and other jewellery, such as a ring inscribed with the name Filetus. With her was buried a doll, also wearing a ring. The style in which the hair of this doll is dressed and the lettering of the inscriptions show that Crepereia lived in the second century A.D. On the **L. wall** of the **entrance** to this room is a curious fragment of fresco painting found in a tomb on the Esquiline. The scenes are arranged in narrow bands, and seen to illustrate episodes in the Samnite wars. We see a parley held between two generals outside the walls of a besieged city, another meeting between two commanders with their armies and a battle scene. It has been thought that these may be copied from, or at least reproduce the style of, the wall paintings of Fabius Pictor, one of the earliest of Roman artists, in the temple of Salus built in 302 B.C.

The last room to the R. contains **Archaic sculptures** which are interesting to those who would study the development of early Greek sculpture. The finest of these works is the **young charioteer** copied from a bronze group set up at Olympia or Delphi to commemorate a victory in the chariot-race, and dating from the period just after the Persian wars. Notice the long robe worn by Greek drivers. Early female statues, with their elaborate yet conventional drapery, are exemplified in the torsos on the R. near the window, and the figure of Nike (Victory) to the L. There are also **grave-reliefs** of the archaic period (notably one which represents a **girl holding a dove**) and a **kneeling figure** interpreted as that of an Amazon stringing her bow. On the R. is an interesting statuette belonging to the middle of the fifth century: a woman is represented in flight carrying a child on each arm (one lost). This was **Leto** with her children **Apollo** and **Artemis**, flying from the Python. The original was dedicated in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Notice also the **colossal foot** by the window, wearing a sandal decorated with Tritons and Erotes.

We now return to the staircase and ascend to the upper floor, noticing on the R. a curious relief dedicated to the **Palmyrene** divinities Aglibolos and Malachbelos, dated by its inscription to the year 235-6 A.D. They are represented as youths clasping hands, the one arrayed in Greek armour, the other wearing Oriental costume. In the background is the sacred cypress which we saw on the Altar of the Sun in the Capitoline Museum.

In a niche to L. on the upper landing is a fine **female figure** restored as "Roma." The head was that of an early Athena; but it does not belong to the body, which is shown by a comparison with better preserved copies to have represented Persephone, holding poppies and ears of corn in her R. hand and a torch in her L. The relief with the **apotheosis of Sabina** has already been described. There are also two mosaics in coloured marble slabs (called by the Romans *opus sectile*) which represent oxen torn by

beasts of prey. These are by far the most important examples of this kind of work preserved to us from antiquity. They belonged to the basilica, or public hall, built on the Esquiline (near S. Maria Maggiore) by Junius Bassus,¹ consul in A.D. 317, and afterwards converted into a church of S. Andrew.

From this landing we enter the **Upper Corridor**, near the entrance of which are several **mosaics**. The most interesting (though not for æsthetic reasons) is one with the curious symbol of an eye pierced by a spear and surrounded by beasts and birds. The inscription shows that it belonged to the entrance of a building on the Cælian called the *Basilica Hilariana*, which was probably a chapel dedicated to some mystical cult. From such private chapels the name *basilica* passed into its Christian use.

In the remainder of the corridor are cases containing **terra-cottas**, etc. (on the L.) and **bronzes** on the R. Amongst the former are several of the plaques with designs repeated from moulds which we shall see in other museums used as architectural decorations—e.g. for the cornices of walls—especially at the close of the Republican period (see p. 179). In the case beyond the second door on the L. are modelled and painted terra-cottas of early date used for decorating the pediments and gutters of temples. The Romans learnt the use of these from the Etruscans (cf. p. 353), and one of these—in the form of a female head—which was found in the cloister of S. Maria in Araceli, must have belonged to one of the earliest temples on the Capitol. Amongst the statuettes in the next case will be noticed a small alabaster **bust** with a female **head of coloured glass** (flesh pink, painted yellow, hair black) with eyes inserted in silver. Further on are fragments of a **pediment group** in terra-cotta, perhaps of the second century B.C. Amongst the bronzes on the R. notice a statuette of a **Lar**, like those represented on the altar described above (p. 137). In the further case are objects from the early cemeteries on the heights of the Quirinal and Esquiline; and at the end of

¹ His sarcophagus may be seen in the crypt of St. Peter's.

the corridor is a colossal **statue of Heracles** in **gilt bronze**, which was found in the Forum Boarium in the fifteenth century, when the remains of the Ara Maxima were destroyed. In his R. hand he holds the apples of the Hesperides ; the club in the L. rested on a support, probably a mass of rock. The workmanship is poor and of relatively late date, but the type is no doubt derived from the school of Lysippus. [For the picture-gallery in the rooms to the L. see *Christian Rome*, p. 345.]

On leaving the museum, we may either ascend by the steps on the R. which lead through a sixteenth-century portico to the Via di Monte Tarpeo, in which is the German Archæological Institute (R.) and (L) the Casa Tarpea, from the garden of which there is a view of the sheer cliff which has been identified with the Tarpean rock whence criminals were hurled ; or we may take the narrow street leading downwards to the Forum, in which is the entrance to the **Tabularium** or Public Record Office mentioned on p. 47. We pass through a flat arch, the space under which may have been used as a sentry-box by the guard of the Capitol. Turning to the R. we find ourselves in the long **gallery** which overlooked the Forum. All the arches save one of the Doric arcade are now blocked, and the gallery is used as a museum for architectural fragments from the temples below it. The most remarkable of these are (at the further end) the **cornice** of the temple of **Concord**, with its characteristic **wealth of ornament**, almost every member being enriched with foliage, egg-and-dart mouldings, and other decorative motives, and the **cornice and frieze** of the temple of **Vespasian**, which is even more ornate. Notice the ox-skulls, sacrificial emblems (jug, bowl, axe, knife, and sprinkler), and priest's cap with *apex* (p. 217) and cheek-straps carved in relief on this frieze. The eleven bays of the gallery were roofed with concrete vaulting, and some of them opened on to small square chambers at the back. Originally, no doubt, the gallery was open at both ends and formed a covered way for foot-passengers ; but the north-eastern end was blocked when the mediæval tower was

built at that corner. At the back of the gallery was a massive substructure in which were vaulted chambers. The modern staircase at the N.E. end of the gallery leads (through an aperture in the wall) into one of these chambers, from which a staircase led down to a lower passage running beneath the gallery, with deep embrasures and windows overlooking the Forum, except at the north-eastern end, where they would have been blocked by the older Temple of Concord. The modern staircase leads up to the tower of the Palazzo del Senatore which commands the **view of Rome** mentioned on p. 5. It is not clear how the upper part of the ancient Tabularium was planned. Above the gallery was an upper story with an order of Corinthian columns. Some fragments of these may be seen in front of the Portico of the Twelve Gods (p. 49). At the back there was no doubt a court which opened on to the space which is now the Piazza del Campidoglio. This was approached directly from the Forum by a staircase of which sixty-six steps are still in existence. The doorway was blocked by the erection of the Temple of Vespasian. There was also a series of rooms—probably two stories—which opened on the road leading up to the Arx on the N.E. (now the Via dell' Arco di Settimio Severo). In one of these chambers, engraved on the flat arch of a doorway, are the remains of the inscription which gives the name of the builder of the Tabularium—Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul in 78 B.C. and leader of the Senatorial party after the death of Sulla. The building is the finest extant monument of Republican architecture. The façade, which must be studied from the Forum, is notable for its regular masonry in “headers” and “stretchers”; the interior is an early example of concrete vaulting, and also illustrates the care with which Roman builders selected their materials according to their destined position and function—e.g. tufa for the inner walls, travertine for arches, staircases, etc.

VIII

THE IMPERIAL FORA

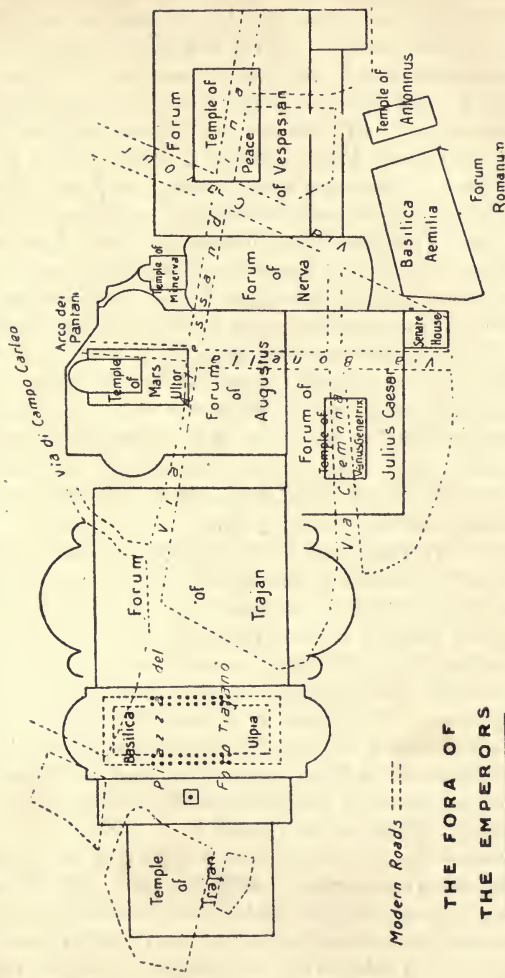
[THE increase of population and business in ancient Rome made the Forum Romanum too small for the needs which it served. New law-courts, exchanges, and public halls became a necessity, and Julius Cæsar, when he rebuilt the Senate-house and changed the aspect of the northern end of the Forum, planned a new place of public resort which adjoined it on the N.W. and henceforth bore the name of Forum Julium. The design was that of a piazza surrounded by colonnades and offices, and containing a temple—that of Venus Genetrix (“the mother”) from whom he traced descent through Æneas. Other emperors—Augustus, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, and finally Trajan, followed his example, and thus the whole of the region to the N. and N.W. of the Forum was turned to public uses and covered with monumental buildings and temples, the extant remains of which can give us but a poor idea of their departed magnificence.]

From the church of SS. Martina e Luca an unsavoury thoroughfare (partly in course of destruction) leads to Piazza del Foro Trajano, and in an alley to the R. (the Via delle Marmorelle) are to be seen (in the court of No. 29) the remains of massive double arches mainly of tufa (with springers and keystones of travertine) which gave access to the chambers and offices enclosing the **Forum of Julius Cæsar**. Of the magnificent temple of Venus Genetrix in the centre of the Forum not a trace now remains, but fragments of the Corinthian columns and frieze were dis-

covered} in the sixteenth century. It was vowed by the Dictator on the battlefield of Pharsalus and dedicated after his triumph in 46 B.C. In front of the temple stood an equestrian statue of Cæsar and a fountain with statues of nymphs.

Augustus built a third Forum to the N. of that of Julius, and with its longer axis perpendicular thereto. If we follow the Via Bonella, which, as explained above, passes between the Senate-house and the offices appertaining to it, and cross the Via Alessandrina, we shall come to the only portion of this Forum which is preserved. On the L. are the three columns and architrave which alone remain of the peristyle of the splendid **temple of Mars Ultor**, vowed by Augustus on the battlefield of Philippi and dedicated in 2 B.C. The walls of the temple were of *peperino* with marble lining.

This temple of Mars gave to the Forum of Augustus its distinctive note. In it were deposited the eagles and standards recovered from the Parthians in 20 B.C., and ceremonies such as the leave-taking of generals and the granting of Imperial triumphs took place there. Its vaults contained the *aerarium militare* or military treasury. The Forum itself was to be the "national Valhalla" in which the heroes of Rome's victorious struggles were to find a place. On either side of the temple the enclosing wall of the Forum expanded into a great apse with niches in which were placed bronze statues of all the Generals of the Republic who had celebrated a triumph, with inscriptions (called *elogia*) giving the details of their career. The statues are irretrievably lost, but many of the inscriptions have been recovered in whole or part. The northern half of the easternmost apse, with its empty niches, towers on the R. of the Via Bonella, and twenty feet below the street level is the ancient pavement of the Forum, which became a swamp in the course of the Middle Ages, so that the new streets built in the sixteenth century had to be raised on high foundations. Tiberius erected triumphal arches on either side of the temple of Mars in honour of Drusus and



Modern Roads -----

THE FORA OF THE EMPERORS

Germanicus, but no trace of them remains. At the end of the Via Bonella we pass through the Arco dei Pantani or "Arch of the Swamps," greatly reduced in height by the rise in the street level, and find ourselves in the Via di Tor dei Conti. The first thing that we notice is the **irregular outline** of the wall enclosing the Forum which we have just left: the arch itself is placed obliquely to the axis of the Forum. The reason of this is that Augustus, with his unflinching tact and conciliatory disposition, refused to resort to compulsory expropriation in order to acquire the site for his Forum, which was densely populated, and preferred to submit to a want of symmetry in its outline. The wall itself is a magnificent specimen of early Imperial masonry. It is built with two varieties of volcanic stone—the lower part of the hard *sperone* from Gabii, the upper of the cheaper and less durable *peperino* from the Alban hills. At intervals of fifteen courses there is a projecting course of travertine, which is also used for the *voussoirs* of the Arco dei Pantani. The original height of the wall was 110 feet, of which 86 are now above ground.

[In A.D. 71 **Vespasian** built a **Temple of Peace** to celebrate the conclusion of the Jewish war, and the enclosed piazza in which the temple stood came to be known as the **Forum of Peace**. It lay to the N.E. of the Forum Romanum, and all that can be seen of it is the small space which has been cleared at the back of SS. Cosma e Damiano (cf. p. 78). The Temple and Forum of Peace became a veritable museum of works of art, both statuary and painting, ruthlessly plundered by Nero to adorn his Golden House, and thence transferred by Vespasian to a spot where they could be enjoyed by the people of Rome.]

Between the Forum of Augustus and that of Vespasian ran the main **thoroughfare** connecting the Forum Romanum with the eastern heights. This passed between the Senate-house and the Basilica Æmilia, and was known at first as the **Argiletum**; it led into the crowded and busy quarter of the **Subura**. Here **Domitian** planned—though he did not live to complete—a Forum, which, like those of his predecessors,

contained a sumptuous temple. This was dedicated to Minerva, a goddess whose worship was especially dear to Domitian, a man of literary tastes. It stood at the northern end of his Forum, which was long and narrow, and has almost completely disappeared. If, however, we turn to the R. from the Via di Tor dei Conti into the Via di Croce bianca, we shall see at the intersection of this street with the Via Alessandrina a fragment of the eastern **enclosing wall** of the Forum with **two columns** (*Le Colonnacce*) belonging to the colonnade, half buried in the ground. The cornice and attic of the wall project and are returned round these columns. On the attic is a figure of Minerva in relief, and the frieze is decorated with scenes representing the arts of peace—spinning, weaving, etc.—over which the goddess presided. This Forum—often called the *Forum Transitorium*—was completed and dedicated after the death of Domitian by **Nerva**, whose name it commonly bears.

[The depression to the N. of the *Forum Romanum* was now filled with public buildings: but **Trajan** was determined to leave an enduring memorial of his reign and of his victories, and commissioned the architect Apollodorus of Damascus to design a Forum far surpassing in extent and magnificence those already in existence. In order to obtain a site for it the saddle which connected the S.W. spur of the Quirinal with the Capitoline hill was cut away and an artificial valley formed and levelled. The design of the Forum differed from the type erected by Julius Cæsar in that there was no temple in the principal enclosure. This was a **great square** enclosed by colonnades, with **hemicycles** projecting to N. and S. It was entered on the side towards the Forum of Augustus by a magnificent triumphal arch, represented on the coins of Trajan, and an equestrian statue of the Emperor stood in the centre. The opposite side was flanked by the **Basilica Ulpia**, a long rectangular hall with apses at either end and two aisles (with a gallery above) on either side. Beyond the basilica was a rectangular court, in the centre of which stood the

spiral **column** supporting a statue of Trajan ; to the N. and S. were **libraries** of Greek and Latin literature.]

From the remains of the Forum of Nerva we turn to the L. along the Via Alessandrina. The first turning to the R. is the Via di Campo Carleo. Here, in the court of No. 6, are to be seen remains of the northern **hemicycle** of the Forum—a row of chambers or shops opening on to a road paved in the usual manner with blocks of lava. An upper story and traces of a third are preserved. The façade is of concrete faced with neat brickwork, which was of course stuccoed. Some parts (door-frames, capitals of pilasters, etc.) were of travertine.

This is all that can be seen of the Forum proper. We go on to the Piazza del Foro Trajano, across which run four rows of broken shafts of grey granite, marking the position of the columns which divided the **Basilica Ulpia** into a nave and four aisles. Only the central portion is excavated. The longer axis was perpendicular to that of the modern piazza. The shafts do not belong to the bases upon which they have been placed, but (possibly) to the colonnade of the Forum. Beyond the remains of the Basilica rises the **Column of Trajan**, now crowned by a statue of St. Peter set up by Sixtus V in 1587. The shaft, base, and capital measure 100 Roman feet in height, and the column was therefore called *columna centenaria*; it also bore the name *columna cochlis* from the resemblance of its spiral to the shell of a snail. In the pedestal was a chamber wherein the ashes of Trajan—who died in Cilicia in A.D. 117—were deposited by Hadrian in a golden urn. The entrance by a door in the E. side of the pedestal was reopened by Comm. Boni in 1906, and the chamber made accessible. It had, of course, been thoroughly rifled in the Dark Ages. The pedestal is decorated with trophies and supports the base of the column, carved with leaves of laurel in the form of a wreath. The shaft is composed of twenty-three blocks of Parian marble ; it is hollow and contains a spiral staircase of 185 steps, lit by forty-three narrow windows ; by this we may ascend to the platform formed by the Doric capital of the column.

The significance of this monument has lately been the subject of controversy. The inscription over the doorway in the pedestal records the erection of the column by the Senate and people of Rome in the year A.D. 113, and adds the words "ad declarandum quantae altitudinis mons et locus tantis operibus sit egestus." The *prima facie* meaning would seem to be that the column indicated *by its height* that of the mountain of earth which had been removed in order to clear the site for Trajan's buildings, and the words were undoubtedly taken in this sense by the historian Cassius Dio, who wrote but one hundred years later than the erection of the column. There is, however, great difficulty in supposing that the saddle connecting the Quirinal with the Capitol approached 100 feet in height. Moreover, Comm. Boni's excavations in the near neighbourhood of the column brought to light an ancient road and other remains which had been in existence before the column was set up. He therefore proposed a new version of the inscription, taking the word "egestus" in the sense not of "cleared," but of "raised," supposing that the 100 feet measured, not the height of the hill which was removed, but that of the buildings afterwards erected on the site. Other less satisfactory explanations of the crucial words have been offered, in order to evade the difficulty as to the levels.

We have next to consider the spiral band of reliefs, on an average rather more than 3 feet in width, by which the column is adorned. It is of course impossible to appreciate them fully in their present position, and even in antiquity, when the column was surrounded by a gallery in two stories, the details must have been difficult to study; yet even the most minute are often full of meaning. So far as we know this was the first example of a column so decorated; and we cannot set a high æsthetic value upon the conception, which not only sets decoration above function, but reduces what should be pregnant with meaning to the level of ornament: for the number of those who will read the story told by the reliefs must always be few. They are, of course, most conveniently studied in a set of casts, such as those

preserved in the South Kensington Museum (or, in Rome itself, in the Museum of the Lateran). However, with the aid of a pair of field-glasses, the most striking episodes may be seen from the piazza.

The **Dacians** were a people who lived in the modern Transsylvania and also to the S. of the Carpathians in Wallachia and part of Roumania. We hear of them as a powerful and warlike nation in the reign of Augustus ; but it was not until the time of the Flavian emperors that that they became a serious menace to the security of the Danube frontier. Domitian waged war with them unsuccessfully, and it was imperatively necessary for Trajan to retrieve the prestige of Rome and settle accounts with **Decebalus**, the king of Dacia, who had succeeded in establishing a great military power. He had, for example, enticed Roman engineers into his service and formed a park of artillery on the Roman model ; he had also sought allies amongst the neighbouring peoples, such as the Sarmatians of S. Russia (ancestors of the modern Slavs) who furnished him with a force of heavy cavalry clad in chain-mail. Even before he visited Rome for the first time as Emperor, Trajan had begun the construction of a military highway from the Rhine to the Danube, and in A.D. 101 he invaded Dacia, and after two campaigns reduced its capital Sarmizegetusa (in S. Transylvania) and imposed terms of peace on Decebalus. Soon afterwards, however, the Dacians rose in a last struggle for independence, and a second war broke out, which also lasted for two years (A.D. 105-6), and ended with the conquest of Dacia and its reduction to the status of a Roman province. Decebalus committed suicide. No contemporary historian has left an account of these wars, and it has been said with truth as regards them that "material evidence constitutes the text, literary documents only the commentary."

The narrative begins on the lowest band of the spiral, and is divided into two parts by the figure of a Victory between trophies half way up the column, which separates the story of the first war from that of the second. In the narrow space at the beginning we have a picture of the Danube with

forts guarded by Roman sentinels and boats from which stores are being unloaded. The river is personified by a colossal bearded figure in a cave, who stretches out his R. hand to encourage the Roman columns, which are leaving a fortified town and crossing a double bridge of boats. The town is Viminacium, now Kostolatz in Servia, and it seems probable that only one army, commanded by Trajan in person, is represented: others, however, hold that two columns crossing the river with a considerable interval between them in order to execute a converging movement are conventionally indicated. In any case, the troops which are crossing by the **first** bridge are **Legionaries**, the details of whose marching kit are rendered with an exactitude which makes them invaluable to the students of Roman military antiquities; while the column in front of them is composed of **Prætorian Guards** who always accompanied the Emperor. It is always possible to distinguish the legions from the guards by the difference in their standards. The legionary ensigns are composed mainly of a series of metal **plates** or shallow bowls, known as **phaleræ**, which were granted to the legion as a mark of honour: above these we see a hand or other symbol peculiar to the corps. The ensigns of the guard, on the other hand, are adorned with **medallions** bearing portraits of the Emperor or other members of his house, as well as **wreaths** or crowns which take the place of the *phaleræ*.

After the passage of the Danube we have some isolated scenes—a council of war, a sacrifice outside a camp, and a strange scene in which a barbarian, holding an enormous mushroom, falls backwards off his mule in awe at the unexpected sight of the Emperor. (There is a reference to this episode in Cassius Dio.) After a harangue delivered to the troops by Trajan, the march begins, and we see the legions hewing their way through forests, bridging streams, and building camps. We know that Trajan's route lay along the spurs of the Western Carpathians, and that he then turned eastwards and attempted to gain access to the Transylvanian plateau by the valley of the Temes. At the close

of a march through forest we have a fine battle scene, with a figure of Jupiter the Storm-god hurling his bolts against the enemies of Rome. The Dacian king is seen in the forest to the R. The result of the battle is, however, indecisive. We see Trajan standing before an impregnable barrier, in front of which are a grisly row of skulls on poles. The inference is clear : Trajan was unable to force the defences of the **Iron Gate Pass**, which leads into Transsylvania, in his first campaign. Desultory operations followed ; we see a **Dacian princess** with her child about to embark on the Danube—doubtless a captive or hostage. Then the Dacians together with their allies, the mailed horsemen of the Sarmatian Steppe, are seen crossing the Danube and raiding Roman territory on the S. bank (in the modern Bulgaria). Trajan is forced to embark at a city with temples and amphitheatre, and after landing lower down the river, to come to the assistance of his hard-pressed troops. The Dacians are routed—we know that Trajan founded a city called Nicopolis, now Tirnovo in Bulgaria, to commemorate the victory—and the campaign ends with the distribution of rewards to the soldiers and the return of Trajan to his base of operations. (Between these scenes we see a group of Dacian women torturing Roman captives.)

In the second campaign (that of A.D. 102) the army again crosses the Danube by a bridge of boats, and pursues a route different from that of the previous year, no doubt in order to turn the defences of the Iron Gate Pass. After forcing their way through mountainous country, in which the **Moorish cavalry**—recognisable by their long twisted curls of hair—form the advance-guard, under the command (as the historians tell us) of their chief Lusius Quietus, they engage and defeat the Dacians ; engines of war drawn by mules are here shown. The enemy's entrenchments are now stormed by irregular troops—amongst whom we notice **Palmyrene archers** in long skirts and conical helmets. Another fortress is taken by legionaries with shields locked in a solid roof—the “tortoise” or *testudo*. Finally, after a pause in the action, marked by a harangue of the Emperor to his assem-

bled troops and a quiet scene where their weary horses are watered at a stream, comes the crowning episode—the **sub-mission of Decebalus**, tendered in his capital Sarmizegetusa. This fine composition, extending over several slabs, is marked off by conventional trees at either extremity, and is symmetrically disposed. On the L. sits Trajan surrounded by his officers and his guards, with a forest of ensigns rising in the background. Before him kneel Dacians of high rank (the wearing of the peaked cap betokens this) imploring his clemency. Others stand behind them, and then comes a crowd of kneeling suppliants. In the background is Sarmizegetusa, partly defended by massive walls of masonry, partly by outworks built with sawn logs. The war closes with the return of the conquered people, with their flocks and herds, to their mountain homes and the closing address of the Emperor to his troops. Their exploits are recorded by Victory on her shield—a motive borrowed from Hellenic art.

The opening of the Second War is represented in a very different way. We see a harbour, which can be identified with certainty as that of **Ancona** on the Adriatic, both by the temple containing a statue of Venus and also by the arch which stands to this day on its quay. Hence a fleet of galleys put out to sea, bearing the Emperor and his guards. They are welcomed on the opposite coast of the Adriatic at **Iader** (the modern Zara) by the assembled population. Trajan next visits a town with a large theatre and other buildings which may be identified with **Salonæ**, and hence goes inland to inspect a camp occupied by legionaries—that of **Burnum**, in Dalmatia. He now takes ship again, and finally lands at a port from which by rapid marching through hilly country he reaches a spot where he is greeted both by Romans and by a friendly Dacian population, and offers sacrifice at six altars. Probably the harbour is **Lissus**, and the Dacians are settlers planted by Trajan, according to the practice of the emperors, on Roman soil.

So far the narrative is clear, and the progress of the story rapid. What, however, was the motive which induced the artist to represent Trajan's journey at length? It is ex-

plained by the scenes which follow. On a panoramic background of mountains we see first the Dacians and their leader, who is receiving the reports of a reconnoitring party, then a Roman fort attacked by the enemy and gallantly defended ; lastly, a Roman garrison whose defences are almost carried when Trajan appears at the head of his cavalry and relieves it. We must read this part of the story as a whole, and see in it the explanation of Trajan's hurried departure from Ancona and his march by the shortest route to the Lower Danube. The Dacians have again raided the Roman province as they did in the first war. This is confirmed by the scene which follows, and forms the centre and pivot of the second series of reliefs. In the background is the great bridge with stone piers and wooden superstructure, thrown over the Danube by Trajan's orders not far from the Iron Gates, and designed by Apollodorus, the architect of his Forum.¹ Here he receives embassies from a number of barbarian tribes, minutely characterised by their dress and physical type ; and then—in the spring of A.D. 106—the final campaign opens with the usual scenes of sacrifice, council of war, and Imperial harangue. This time the converging march of two armies on different lines of advance separated by a mountain range is clearly, if conventionally, indicated by the simple device of representing one of the columns above the heads of the other, and divided from it by a shelf of rock. When the armies unite the end is near. The Dacian capital is represented no less than three times in the desire of the artist to tell the whole of his story—first in a compendious form, with the figures of Dacians running hither and thither in alarm at the approach of the Roman columns—then in the course of the siege, with incidents of attack and defence hardly to be conceived as contemporaneous ; lastly, in a magnificent panorama which, when examined, falls into three sections. In the first the Dacians are firing the doomed city ; in the second, those who prefer death to

¹ The piers of this bridge are still *in situ*, though the upper part is lost.

flight are grouped about a huge bowl of poison which has already claimed its victims ; lastly, we see a remnant of the conquered people leaving the city, which, we must suppose, was not closely invested. It has been suggested with much probability that this panorama of the Fall of Sarmizegetusa was inspired (as regards its composition) by the famous fresco of the Fall of Troy painted by Polygnotus at Delphi. After this climax the struggle becomes a war of episodes, recalling the closing scenes of the war between Briton and Boer in South Africa. One scene deserves special notice—the Suicide of Decebalus, who, when “rounded up” by the Roman cavalry, plunges a knife into his breast, just as the Gaul on a sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum described above (p. 107). The last band of the spiral shows us a long train of cattle driven by the irreconcilable Dacians into the wild country beyond their borders.

The great “epic in stone” has been justly admired as the most important example of an attempt to create a purely Roman art filled with the Roman spirit, and celebrating the triumph of Roman discipline and determination over barbaric courage. The style has its conventions, but a little study will make them intelligible. The perspective is of course faulty, but the eye is soon accustomed to this defect, and is led to make allowance for it.

The reliefs of the column were not the only ones inspired by Trajan’s victories on the Danube. It has long been recognised that several slabs from a frieze in which episodes from the same wars are represented on a much larger scale exist in various places. Some were used to adorn the Arch of Constantine ; others are in the portico of the Villa Borghese ; one is walled up in the garden front of the Villa Medici ; and a fine fragment has found its way to the Louvre. It is most likely that this frieze had its original place in the Forum of Trajan.

At the western end of Trajan’s buildings—where the twin churches of the Piazza del Foro Trajano now stand—a temple was built for the worship of the great Emperor by his successor Hadrian. It has, however, long been levelled to the ground.

IX

THE CAMPUS MARTIUS

[THE "field of Mars"—which took its name from an altar of the War-god set up, according to legend, by Romulus—was the name originally given to the whole of the low-lying land enclosed between the great bend of the Tiber and the slopes of the Capitol, Quirinal and Pincian; and though the term was afterwards restricted in its application by Augustus, who made the *Via Lata* ("Broad Street"), which corresponds to the modern Corso, its eastern boundary, it is convenient to apply it to the whole region. This is now the most densely populated quarter of Rome, but it was quite otherwise in ancient times. Originally it was swampy in places, until the watercourses coming down from the Quirinal were regulated; and the meadowland which took the place of its marshes remained until late historical times in the ownership of the Roman people. Here it was that the *Comitia centuriata*, or "assembly of the people by centuries," always met, since it lay entirely without the *pomerium* (until it was extended by successive emperors) and martial law could be administered there. Under the later Republic, however, public buildings began to spring up in its southern portion. Augustus and Agrippa (cf. p. 10) did much to transform its aspect, and later emperors—notably the Flavians, Hadrian, and the Antonines—occupied most of the available space in the central region with their buildings.]

In order to obtain a conspectus of the **historical development** of the Campus Martius it is best to begin at its

southern extremity, in the narrow strip of land between the Capitoline hill and the river. Here the "Servian" wall had two gates, one of which—the *Porta Carmentalis*—was approximately on the line of the *Via della Bocca della Verità*. Without it was the *Forum holitorium* or "vegetable market" in the neighbourhood of **Piazza Montanara**, which forms a convenient starting-point. Close by to the S.W. is the church of S. Nicola in Carcere. Within, around, and beneath this church are the remains of **three temples**, all of which date from the time of the Republic, and overlooked the *Forum holitorium* on the W. Built into the façade of the church and also in the interior are several columns belonging to these temples: and in the narrow lane to the L. of the church may be seen on the R. one which appears at first sight to belong to a strangely simplified form of the Tuscan order. The truth is that the mouldings of the capital were added in stucco and renewed from time to time with modifications in accordance with the prevailing taste of the day. The most southerly of the three temples, to which this column belonged, was that of **Juno Sospita** ("the Deliverer"), dedicated in 194 B.C., and such of its remains as exist beneath the church of S. Nicola are of travertine. The largest of the three temples was the central one, which must be that of **Hope**, built during the First Punic War and burnt once and again, but finally restored by Germanicus in A.D. 17. The most northerly was the temple of **Janus**, built in 260 B.C. by Gaius Duilius, the admiral in whose honour the *Columna Rostrata* (p. 132) was set up; its history was much the same as that of its neighbour. The remains of the *podia* and *cellæ* of these temples, which exist beneath the church, are shown by the sacristan. Curiously enough, the legend which has woven itself about the church is connected with none of them, but with that of a fourth, the temple of **Pietas**, dedicated in 181 B.C., but destroyed by Augustus to make room for the Theatre of Marcellus. The story ran that it was built on the site of the prison set up by Appius Claudius the decemvir, in honour of a daughter whose filial affection ("Pietas") had saved her father's life

by bestowing on him the nourishment which should have been her child's : but the prison from which the church of S. Nicola takes its name was of the Byzantine age.

In the Via del Teatro di Marcello, which branches to the N.W. from the Piazza Montanara, are the remains of the **Theatre of Marcellus** planned by Julius Cæsar, but carried out by Augustus, who dedicated it in 13 B.C. to the memory of his nephew Marcellus, the son of his sister Octavia, whose untimely death in 23 B.C. was lamented by Vergil in a famous passage of the sixth *Æneid*. It saw partly saved from destruction by its conversion into a mediæval stronghold, which ultimately became the possession of the Orsini. The ruins of the stage-buildings and seats form the great mound of débris on which the Palazzo Orsini is built. What we see are the **arcades** of the exterior, with superposed orders as in the Colosseum. The lowest story, half buried in the earth and occupied by workshops, is of the Doric, the second of the Ionic order : the third no longer exists. We are told that the theatre seated 14,000 spectators, but this is very doubtful.

Not far from the *Forum holitorium* was the earliest **Temple of Apollo**, built in 429 B.C., and restored in 32 B.C. by Gaius Sosius, a general of Augustus, who filled it with works of art, notably the group of the Niobids (p. 324). Some remains of its substructure have been discovered to the S. of S. Maria in Campitelli (between Piazza Campitelli and Via dei Sugherari).

The region to the N. of the buildings which have been described was crowded with places of public resort and amusement. Nothing is now left of the **Circus Flaminius**, built in 221 B.C., which gave its name to the ninth of Augustus' fourteen regions ; but its remains were still extant in the sixteenth century, and the Via delle Botteghe Oscure takes its name from the external arcades, which must, like those of the Theatre of Marcellus, have been used as shops. If, however, we leave the Piazza Montanara by the Via del Teatro di Marcello, we shall come to the remains of the **Porticus of Octavia**; the entrance, with its Corinthian

columns and pediment, and some columns on either side, belong—as the inscription thereon shows—to a restoration carried out by Septimius Severus and Caracalla in A.D. 203. The *porticus* dates from 146 B.C., when Q. Cæcilius Metellus, the conqueror of Macedonia, built temples to Jupiter and Juno and enclosed them with a colonnade, at the same time filling them with works of art, both old and new. Augustus restored the whole group of buildings and called them by the name of his sister Octavia. In the Middle Ages the fish market was established here, and the church of S. Angelo in Pescheria, to which the Jews were compelled to resort from the neighbouring Ghetto, arose on the site of the ancient temples.

These sadly mutilated remains are all that now enables us to picture the lost magnificence of the buildings with which the whole of this quarter was covered. Not a trace is left of the *Porticus Octavia* (built by a Roman admiral, Cr. Octavius, in the second century B.C.), the *Porticus Philippi*, named after the stepfather of Augustus (which may have been in the neighbourhood of Piazza Mattei), or of the *Porticus Minucia*, built in 109 B.C. and afterwards restored and enlarged to serve as the centre of the corn distributions which pauperised the mob of Imperial Rome—unless, indeed, the remains of travertine piers with engaged half-columns which are to be seen in Via dei Calderari (which we may reach from the *Porticus Octavia* by crossing the site of the Ghetto and passing to the R. of the Palazzo Cenci) are to be assigned to the last-named of these. The Monte dei Cenci, upon which the palace stands, however, is formed by the ruins of the Theatre of **Balbus**, built by L. Cornelius Balbus, the son of a Spaniard raised to high honour by Julius Cæsar, and dedicated in 13 B.C. It was smaller than the theatre of Marcellus, and had a covered *foyer* called the *Crypta Balbi*. Crossing the Via Arenula and the Piazza Benedetto Cairoli, we proceed along the Via dei Giubbonari towards the Campo di Fiore. To the R. were the buildings by the erection of which **Pompey** sought to win popularity in Rome as consul in 55 B.C.

Colonnades and halls—the *Porticus Pompeiana*, afterwards restored by Diocletian—including the *Curia Pompei* in which Cæsar was murdered, together with gardens and fountains, formed an enclosed park, to the N.W. of which was a **theatre**, the first *permanent* building of the kind in Rome, richly adorned with statues and paintings, and containing a temple of Venus the Victorious which Pompey was forced to build in deference to the clamour of the Conservative moralists. Nothing remains of its splendour but the two Pans in the Capitoline Museum (p. 105) which have given their name to the Piazza dei Satiri, where the stage buildings stood, the colossal Hercules of gilt bronze in the Vatican Rotunda (p. 278), and some other sculptures: the curve of the auditorium is preserved in that of the modern Via di Grottapinta.

It is hard, indeed, with such scanty materials to conjure up a picture of this S.W. quarter, which had been thus covered with theatres and porticoes by the dawn of the Christian era. Before leaving it the traveller should pay a visit to the **Palazzo Spada** (turn to L. at the corner of the Campo di Fiore), which contains a few sculptures of exceptional interest. In the **throne room** is a **colossal statue** popularly believed to represent **Pompey**. The head bears no resemblance to the true portrait of Pompey—a head at Copenhagen which agrees with the type on the coins struck by his sons—and, moreover, does not belong to the statue, as may be seen by the fact that on the shoulders are traces of the loose ends of a fillet with which the hair of the original head was bound. Nevertheless, the story runs that head and body were found together (in the sixteenth century), but on either side of the boundary between two properties, and that the ownership of the statue was accordingly disputed. If the anecdote be true, we have an example of a practice common in antiquity—that of replacing the original head of a portrait-statue by that of some popular personage of later date. The name of Pompey was bestowed upon this statue because it was found not far from the Cancelleria, and therefore *near* to Pompey's

theatre. The statue of Pompey in the *Curia Pompei* at the feet of which Cæsar was murdered was afterwards set up by Augustus *outside* the theatre; and the statue before us, from its colossal size and the fact that it carried in the R. hand a globe surmounted by a Victory, whilst the R. hand was (probably) uplifted in the gesture of an orator commanding silence, was evidently that of a personage of the highest distinction. More than this we cannot say.

In the **gallery** overlooking the courtyard of the palace are **eight reliefs** which help to give us some idea of the magnificence with which the walls of Roman palaces were decorated. These reliefs are evidently intended as panels to take the place of **pictures**. Their style and composition is in many respects akin to painting rather than to sculpture. There has been much controversy as to the date of these reliefs and others of their class: see what was said on page 116 as to those in the Room of the Emperors. It is not disputed that elements of **landscape**—such as the rustic shrine and sacred tree, so familiar to us from **wall-paintings** like those of the Palatine (p. 92) or Pompeii—were introduced into relief sculpture in the Hellenistic period; but it is not proved that wall decoration of this elaborate kind was known before the days of the Empire. Moreover, while the influence of painting is not to be denied, it is none the less true that some of the figures in these compositions are adaptations of statuary types, and display the poverty of invention characteristic of Roman mythological art. Those who believe this series to date from the age of Cæsar or Augustus admit that some—e.g. that of Paris and Cœnone—are much later, and it is perhaps most probable that the whole set really belongs to the time of Hadrian. Some compositions of this kind seem to have been specially famous. Portions of two were found on the Palatine, representing Dædalus with Icarus, and a child-Satyr attended by a nymph: and replicas of both of these are in existence.

On the **L. wall** of the gallery we have the following subjects :—

1. Paris and Eros. The figure of Paris is taken from a larger composition, in which the three goddesses were shown. He is listening to the persuasive utterance of Eros, who is singing the charms of Aphrodite. The cattle which fill the lower part of the panel are a clumsy addition of the artist for the purpose of filling the space.

2. The death of Archemoros. Hypsipyle, banished from Lemnos, became the slave of Lycurgus, king of Nemea, and the nurse of his child Opheltes, who was killed by a snake whilst she was showing the "Seven against Thebes" the way to a spring. The heroes buried the child with state, founding the Nemean games in its honour, and changing its name to Archemoros, the "harbinger of death." The legend was the subject of a famous tragedy of Euripides, based on the deliverance of Hypsipyle by her long-lost sons, who were in the train of the Seven ; some remains of the lost play have recently been recovered in an Egyptian papyrus.

3. Paris and C  none. Paris is about to leave his first love, C  none, and sail to Greece on his fatal quest, inspired by Aphrodite's promises. Another version of this subject only differing in minor points from our relief has been preserved, and shows that the river-god Scamander is an addition of the Roman artist.

4. The theft of the Palladium. Odysseus and Diomed have stolen the image of Athena upon which hung the fate of Troy, and are now quarrelling over their booty before the temple. The image was held by Diomed in the L. hand, which is wrongly restored. Notice the contrast between the two heroes : Diomed embodies physical force, Odysseus cunning.

5. Adonis. The composition, with its rustic background (largely restored on the L.), breathes the sentimental spirit of a Hellenistic idyll. Adonis has been wounded in the R. leg and is leaning on his spear to ease the pain.

On the opposite side of the gallery

6. Bellerophon and Pegasus. Bellerophon, an ideal statuary type, is in strong contrast with the horse, which is inferior in conception and execution, and the background, which is perfunctory.

Passing by a cast of the Endymion relief in the Capitoline Museum, we come to

7. Amphion and Zethus. The myth of the sons of Antiope, like that of Hypsipyle and Archemoros, was made popular by a tragedy of Euripides, who contrasted the musician Amphion, to the strains of whose lyre the walls of Thebes arose, with the hunter Zethus. Our relief might serve as an illustration of his play. The contrast between two types of character is as clearly marked here as in the figures of Odysseus and Diomed in No. 4.

8. Dædalus and Pasiphae. Dædalus has made the wooden cow for Pasiphae, the queen of Minos, and is seated beside his handiwork. The subject is one familiar from Pompeian paintings. The want of dramatic action, and the choice of a subject so repugnant to modern taste, are characteristic of the mythological art of the Early Empire.

In the picture-gallery of the palace is a **seated statue** which was long believed to be that of Aristotle. Not only, however, does the head—a Roman portrait—not belong to the statue, but the inscription, of which the first five letters can be read, should be completed—Arist[ippo]s. Thus the statue—in itself a fine piece of work—represented the pupil of Socrates and founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy.

Leaving the Palazzo Spada, we make our way past the Palazzo Farnese, the Campo di Fiore and the Cancelleria to the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, beyond which lies the region occupied by the buildings of Augustus, Agrippa, and the Flavian emperors. Crossing the small Piazza of S. Pantaleo and turning to the L. we see, at the angle of the Palazzo Braschi, the sadly mutilated remains of a sculptured group famous under the name of **Pasquino**, borrowed from a shoemaker near whose house it was brought to light. The satirical epigrams which were posted on it when it was set up in its present position generally found their replies on the

Marforio (see p. 104). The group was evidently a famous one, since two replicas—both discovered in Rome—exist in Florence, and fragments of two more are in the Vatican (p. 294). Both of these last replicas were found in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. The group represented **Menelaus** in the act of letting slip the body of **Patroclus**, which he was endeavouring to rescue from the advancing Trojans, in order to defend himself against the enemy. The pyramidal outline of the group, the contorted pose of the limbs of Patroclus, and the realistic treatment of the nude—to appreciate which the Vatican fragments must be studied—point to the Hellenistic age as the date of the original.

Turning to the R. we find ourselves almost at once in the Piazza Navona, or, as it is now officially called, Circo Agonale, which preserves the form (though nothing more) of the **Stadium of Domitian**, once numbered amongst the finest buildings of Rome, which served as a temporary amphitheatre when the Colosseum was damaged by fire (p. 243). Crossing its southern end and following the Via dei Canestrari, we pass the University, turn to L. by Piazza S. Eustachio, and through Via della Palombella reach the back of the **Pantheon**. We may first glance at the remains of the **Baths of Agrippa**, which are to be seen at the rear of the building. They were excavated in 1881–2, and the architectural fragments have been as far as possible replaced in position, so that we can form some idea (though an imperfect one) of the great hall, with a large apse or *exedra* (added by Hadrian) immediately behind the Pantheon, and its columns of *pavonazzetto* and red granite bearing an entablature of Pentelic marble (notice the frieze of dolphins and tridents).¹

We observe in passing that this hall has no connection with the Pantheon: the cross-walls between the two merely served the purpose of buttresses. The **exterior** of the **rotunda**, now denuded of its decoration, is bare and un-

¹ Some remains of a **domed hall** belonging to the Baths of Agrippa, called the Arco della Ciambella, may be seen in the neighbouring street of that name.

attractive; it is divided into four zones by plain cornices. Only the lowest of these was faced with marble, the others were decorated in stucco. It was roofed with tiles of gilt bronze, removed to Constantinople by the Byzantine Emperor, Constans II, in A.D. 662. Notice in passing that the walls of the **vestibule** are not bonded with those of the rotunda. This has given rise to the notion that the two are not contemporary; but they have been shown to rest on the same foundations. The **portico**, again, with its sixteen columns of red and grey granite, is quite separate from the vestibule, and is built on distinct foundations. We first of all notice the inscription on the frieze, "M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. TERTIVM FECIT" ("Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, consul for the third time, built it") which with its bold lettering dwarfs the longer inscription on the architrave, recording the restoration of the building by Septimius Severus and Caracalla in A.D. 202. It was only natural that the first of these inscriptions should be taken in its obvious sense, and that the whole building as it now stands should be identified with the **Pantheon**, or "all-holy" temple of Mars, Venus, and the other divine protectors of the Julian house, built by **Agrippa**, the general and adviser of Augustus, at the same time as his Baths, in the year 27 B.C. True, we were told by ancient writers that this building was burned in the great fire of A.D. 80 and restored by Domitian, and that the restored Pantheon was struck by lightning and again burned under Trajan in A.D. 110, to be once more restored by Hadrian. But it was thought that the design of the great rotunda had been the same throughout, and that successive restorations had only affected the details of its decoration. In 1892, however, a thorough investigation of the structure showed that throughout the building—particularly in the relieving arches upon which its stability depended—stamps of Hadrian's reign (and no others) are found on the bricks. It is therefore certain that **Hadrian** was the builder of the rotunda; and it is, moreover, almost certain that the first building on the site—that of Agrippa—was *not* circular in form. Six or seven feet beneath the floor of the rotunda are

the remains of a pavement of coloured marble, which once covered a larger area, for it was removed when the circular foundation was laid, and can be traced beneath the portico. It would seem that this was an open space, for there are no traces of walls or foundations : on the other hand, foundation-walls have been discovered beneath the front row of columns and in the piazza which belonged (as it would seem) to a rectangular building facing southward with a projecting portico like that of the Temple of Concord (p. 48) ; and this may have been the form of Agrippa's building, which would then have covered the space now occupied by the piazza. There are also reasons for thinking that the raking cornices of the pediment are set at a steeper angle than that for which they were originally made ; in other words, that the portico of Agrippa's building had *ten*, not eight, columns in the front, and that when re-erected by Hadrian to face N. instead of S., it was reduced in breadth. In front of this new Pantheon was a large piazza, paved with travertine and surrounded with porticoes. Between this piazza and the Stadium of Domitian were the Baths of Nero, afterwards restored by Severus Alexander and known by his name : no remains of these are now visible.

We now enter the rotunda, noticing on either side of the vestibule the niches in which colossal statues of Augusta and Agrippa once stood. As a Christian church, dedicated to the memory of all the martyrs of Rome by Boniface IV in A.D. 609, as containing the tomb of Raphael and many other painters, and as the last resting place of the kings of United Italy, the Pantheon has its several interests for diverse types of travellers. But it is, above all, the most perfect monument of the architecture of Imperial Rome. To understand its place in the history of art some knowledge of that history is needed ; as to this see what is said on p. 23. Moreover, the system of arches and piers by which, when it was raised by Hadrian's architects and probably to the Emperor's own designs, its stability was assured, is entirely concealed by the internal decoration, and even this has been modernised from top to bottom. Nevertheless, the grandeur and simplicity

of the perfectly proportioned, self-contained interior, with its single opening admitting a stream of light sufficient to reveal the whole without giving a disturbing emphasis to any of the parts, cannot fail of their effect. The dome was probably painted blue in imitation of the vault of heaven and studded with golden stars. Beneath the bronze cornice there was a zone of decoration formed by pilasters and slabs of porphyry, serpentine and coloured marbles, ruthlessly destroyed in 1742 when the Pantheon was "restored" by Benedict XIV; but this was the work of Severus and Caracalla, and it is generally held that in Hadrian's building there were open lunettes above the niches. This scheme drew attention to the fact (which is concealed by the present decoration) that the drum is not solid throughout, but is in reality resolved into a system of piers, between which the weight of the dome is distributed.

Leaving the Pantheon and turning to the R., we come to the Piazza della Minerva, which takes its name from a temple of Minerva built by Domitian, who left his mark on this part of the Campus Martius. Besides magnificent temples dedicated to the Egyptian divinities, Isis and Serapis, on the site of which several of the Egyptian statues now in the Museo Capitolino were found in 1882, he built a colonnaded enclosure with shrines of the deified members of his family (Vespasian and Titus) known as the *Porticus Divorum*, the position of which is given by a recently discovered fragment of the Marble Plan. Following the Via Pié di Marmo we come to the Piazza of the Collegio Romano; and in this building (entrance in the side street, Via del Collegio Romano) is the **Museo Kircheriano**, which should be visited especially by those interested in the **early** history of Italy. The prehistoric collections are contained in a series of small rooms which are reached after traversing the ethnographic museum.

Room 27. On the R. are flint weapons and implements, which show that Italy was the abode of man from the very earliest period. To the R. of the entrance are implements of the Old Stone Age ("Palæolithic" period) found in the gravel

of the Tiber valley near the Ponte Molle ; Italy has so far yielded no such remains of the artistic handiwork of Palæolithic man as the designs scratched on bone which have been found in France. In the far corner to R. are implements of the New Stone Age ("Neolithic" period), in which Italy appears to have received settlers of the race called "Mediterranean" or (in S. Europe) "Ibero-Ligurian."

Room 28. Contains remains of this period from the Valle delle Vibrata on the Adriatic coast, where hut-foundations have been discovered belonging to every stage of prehistoric development.

Room 30. On the R. of the entrance note the implements of **copper** and **obsidian** from graves in Latium. Copper was the first of the metals to be worked, and was for some time only used in its pure form.

Room 31. Here we meet with the earliest products of the **Age of Bronze** (an alloy of copper and tin), with which began the dawn of a new civilisation in Italy. A new type of dwelling takes the place of the half buried huts. This is the **pile-village**, found in its earliest form in and about the lakes of Lombardy. The remains discovered in these lake dwellings (which resemble those found in Switzerland) may be seen in this room, and on the walls of the passage leading to the next room are hung plans of a type of village found in great numbers in the valley of the Po. They were built on dry land, but on a platform supported by piles and surrounded by a moat, and are called *terremare*, since they have been converted by gradual decay into masses of rich loam full of organic remains. They were all mapped out on a regular plan, and there can be no reasonable doubt that in the race which introduced this methodical system into Italy we are to seek the ancestry of the Romans. It is also clear that the immigrants came from Central Europe.

In Room 32 the most interesting object is the skeleton in the centre case, found in a tomb at Sgurgola in the Sabine hills with a copper dagger and stone implements, with traces of bright red pigment on the skull. It is very generally held that the primitive people of Italy removed the flesh from the

bones of their dead and then painted the skeleton : but it is *possible* that the pigment may have soaked into the skull from a cloth in process of decay. Note that the Italians of the *Bronze Age* who built the *terremare* **cremated** their dead. On the wall of the next passage is a photograph of a *terramara* with several piles still in position. The bronzes and pottery found in these villages are exhibited in Rooms 33-35.

Room 36. Here we come to the products of the **Early Iron Age**—the period which brings us to the borderland of history proper. The remains here shown were found in N. Italy, and seem to give proof of a new wave of immigration from the Danube basin. It is not, however, likely that the new-comers were of a different race from the inhabitants of the *terremare*, whom they gradually displaced. The use of the new metal and the improved handicrafts which came in its train soon spread through the peninsula ; no doubt there was much shifting of population, and the **Latins** seem to have established themselves in the Lower Tiber valley, the Campagna and the Alban hills at this time. In Room 37 are several examples of two distinct types of **urn**, made of the blackened clay which was in general use in this period, and used to contain the ashes of the dead. One is called the “Villanova” urn from the site of an early cemetery near Bologna where hundreds of these objects were found. It has a long neck in the shape of a truncated cone and a squat belly, and was often closed with a kind of saucer used as a lid. This is the type in regular use to the north of the Apennines. The other is the **hut-urn**, which in various forms, sometimes nearly circular, sometimes oval and sometimes rectangular, reproduces the dwelling-house of the living, often with much detail which helps us to understand its construction. This is found in Tuscany and especially in Latium. All its varieties may be studied here and in Room 39. Notice in Room 38, on the L. (beyond the window), the products of this period found in the Alban hills, which illustrate the relative **poverty** of the early Latins as seen in the furniture of their tombs.

In Room 40 we find ourselves in presence of a new and much richer civilisation. The centre case contains objects found in a tomb at **Palestrina** (the ancient Præneste). What strikes us at once is the beauty and minuteness of the **gold-work**, as seen in the **plaque** adorned with 131 figures of lions and other animals, which seems to have been worn on the breast or attached to a girdle, and the **cylinders** with delicate filigree ornament. Notice too the **silver-gilt bowl** with six snakes as handles, decorated with rows of beasts and birds and scenes of war and the chase which betray their Eastern origin by the use of the palm and the papyrus. Evidently the riches of the owner of the grave were derived from commerce with the East, in which Phœnician traders were the middlemen. Other bowls of Phœnician workmanship (one signed by the artist) like those found in Cyprus, will be found in the window case, together with the most interesting object of all—a gold *fibula* or safety-pin bearing the inscription MANIOS MED FHEFHAKED NUMASIOI, “Manius made me for Numasius.” This shows us that native artists were beginning to vie with the craftsmen of the East ; it is, moreover, the earliest monument of the Latin tongue—with the possible exception of the inscription found beneath the Black Stone. Notice also the **bronzes** in the centre case—a tripod with three human figures on the edge, a stand in the form of a truncated cone with reliefs, and a cauldron with griffins’ heads for handles—and objects of ivory and glass. We shall meet with a similar treasure from Cære in S. Etruria in the Vatican (p. 344) ; and the great expansion of Italian commerce and industry in the seventh century (to which these tombs belong) was undoubtedly due to Etruscan enterprise.

Turning to the R. we find in Room 41 a miscellaneous collection of Iron Age products, and in the centre models of megalithic monuments from S. Italy which resemble the dolmens, menhirs, etc., of northern Europe, and seem to have been the work of a people who crossed from Africa in the neolithic age ; also a model of a *nuraghe* or conical tower (used as a fortified dwelling) of the type common in Sardini .

The following rooms contain prehistoric objects from other parts of Europe and from the New World. From the corridor (45) we pass into the *Museo Kircheriano* proper, founded by the learned Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher, who was professor of mathematics at the Collegio Romano in the seventeenth century. For the Christian monuments in Rooms 51 and 52 see *Christian Rome*, p. 70 ff.

Room 52 contains a number of the terra-cotta slabs with reliefs made from moulds of which we have already seen examples in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The designs are of great variety. Some are taken from well-known motives of classical Greek art, such as the Victories sacrificing bulls, which are the commonest of all. Others may have been inspired by classical painting, such as the mourning Penelope or the washing of Odysseus' feet. The Egyptian landscape with the overflowing Nile, in which the hippopotamus and crocodile are wallowing, points to Alexandria as the home of this manufacture. On the other hand, the plaque in which a combat between lions and gladiators in the circus is represented gives proof that Roman craftsmen contributed their share. Notice a curious oval gravestone of early date from Novilara near Pesaro, with an inscription in the local dialect.

In Room 53 is a large collection of ancient Italian and Roman coins. The earliest medium of exchange consisted in shapeless **lumps of bronze** (*æs rude*), which was weighed in the scales at each transaction; this symbolical sale *per aes et libram* was retained as a formality in conveyances by later Roman law. The next stage we find **stamped ingots** on bars (*æs signatum*); the unit (*as*) was the pound of copper, and this was gradually reduced when true coinage was brought into circulation. In the window case are gems of no great importance. By the entrance-wall, leaden tablets inscribed with curses which were buried in graves; also a collar with an inscription which reads: "I have run away, catch me; when you have restored me to my master Zoninus you will get a solidus"; and it is probably that of a dog rather than a slave.

In the passage are a few ancient sculptures: notice the head of a girl in green basalt, of the severe fifth-century type often called "Sappho." Turning to the L. into the corridor (54) we come to a miscellaneous collection of bronzes, etc., the most important of which is the round **casket** found at Præneste and usually called the *Ficoroniciستا*. On the handle-plate is an inscription of the third century B.C., which read as follows: "Novios Plautios made me at Rome, Dindia Magolnia gave me to her daughter." The casket is therefore the work of a Roman artist; and so, no doubt, are the feet in the shape of lions trampling upon frogs, the relief-plates upon which Eros is represented between Heracles and Iolaus by means of which the feet are attached to the body, and the handle in the form of a group of Dionysus with two Satyrs. But the **engravings** on the body of the chest seem to be by another hand, probably that of a Greek workman. The legend which they portray is taken from the story of the Argonauts, who, on their voyage to Colchis in quest of the Golden Fleece, landed in Bithynia to draw water and were met by Amycus, king of the Bebryces, who had hitherto challenged all strangers to box with him and killed them, but now met his match in Polydeuces (Pollux), whose victory was foretold by the local demon Sosthenes. The central group is that of Polydeuces binding Amycus to a tree, at the foot of which is his boy-squire, wrapped in his master's cloak and carrying his shoes and scraper; an oil-flask and a pick for loosening the earth before the fight lie beside him. To the R. is Athena, the protectress of the Argonauts, and above her head a flying Victory bearing a wreath. On either side of the group are two spectators: to R. Jason seated, and Heracles standing with his back to us; to L. one of the Bebrycians seated on an amphora and the winged demon Sosthenes. Further to R. we see the good ship *Argo* and her crew, and beyond them the spring, beside which is seated an old Satyr drumming on his paunch whilst an Argonaut plays at punch-ball. The circle is completed by four figures—a youth holding an amphora, the reclining

figure of a local divinity (wearing, as we must note, the Italian *bullæ* or amulet round his neck), and two Argonauts, one whose cap marks him as Castor and another who places his arm about his neck. The whole is well worthy of study, because in all probability it preserves the outlines of of a composition belonging to the **classical** period of **Greek painting**. The subject reminds us of the fresco of the "Return of the Argonauts," painted by Micon, an Athenian painter of the time of Phidias, in the temple of the Dioscuri (Castor and Polydeuces) at Athens; and we may perhaps catch some faint echoes of his style in this work, with its severe linear design and study of the nude in various poses—both features which mark fifth-century painting.

Amongst the minor objects in this room note four **silver goblets** found at Vicarello, an ancient watering-place with natural hot springs. They are in the form of milestones, and give the names of the principal posting-stations, with distances, on the route from Gades (Cadiz) to Rome.

Leaving the Museum, we find ourselves within a few paces of the **Corso**, which follows the line of the *Via Lata* or "Broad Street," continued by the *Via Flaminia*, the main route from Rome to the N. Close to the church of S. Maria in Via Lata (on our R.) a triumphal arch of Diocletian spanned the *Via Lata*; it was destroyed at the close of the fifteenth century by Innocent VIII. Beneath this church and the neighbouring Palazzo Doria have been found remains of the piers which supported the *Sæpta Julia*, or polling-booths planned by Cæsar and completed by Agrippa in 26 B.C. Since the assembly of the people gradually ceased to perform any but formal functions, the building was turned to other uses and became a kind of bazaar. It extended from the modern Piazza di Venezia almost as far as the Piazza Sciarra. In this latter spot stood a second triumphal arch, built by Claudius to commemorate his conquest of Britain. Some remains of this arch and fragments of the inscription (the largest of which is in the garden of the Palazzo Barberini) were found in the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries. The Aqua Virgo, an aqueduct built by Agrippa to feed his baths, was carried over the arch. (Another arch of this aqueduct, bearing an inscription of Claudius, is still to be seen in Via del Nazzareno, some distance to the N.)

The next turning to the L. is the Via di Pietra, which takes us into the Piazza di Pietra, where we see on the L. the remains of an ancient building, viz. a row of eleven Corinthian columns bearing a rich entablature, built into what is now the Stock Exchange of modern Rome (it was until lately a Custom House). The columns stood on a high substructure or *podium* which is now buried, and this was decorated with the reliefs of provinces and trophies which we saw in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 131). It has generally been held that this was the **Basilica of Neptune**, built by Agrippa in 25 B.C. in honour of the naval victories of Augustus, and (as is supposed) restored by Hadrian after it had been burned in the great fire of A.D. 80. It seems, however, more likely that it was the **Temple of Hadrian** built by Antoninus Pius and dedicated in A.D. 145.

From the Piazza di Pietra the Via dei Bergamaschi takes us to the Piazza Colonna, in the centre of which rises the **Column of Marcus Aurelius**. The wars which it commemorates were closed by the triumph celebrated by the Emperor in September, A.D. 176; but there is reason to think that many years elapsed before the column was completed. Like the column of Trajan, of which it was an imitation, it was 100 feet in height, not including the pedestal, which was once adorned with reliefs, all trace of which was removed when the column was restored in 1589 by the order of Sixtus V. The statues of M. Aurelius and his Empress, Faustina the younger, which had long since disappeared, were then replaced by a figure of St. Paul. The **reliefs** of the spiral band which encircles the column in twenty-three windings are much inferior in execution to those of Trajan's column, and are also more difficult of interpretation. In the first place, they have suffered severely

from fire and earthquake, and have been replaced in many parts by modern figures (generally easy to distinguish). Moreover, if we know but little of Trajan's campaigns in Dacia, we know far less of the wars waged by M. Aurelius on the Danube—at least as regards their strategy: some incidents are recorded by ancient writers, and the most famous (to be mentioned presently) is represented on the column.

In A.D. 166 the barbarians living to the N. of the Upper Danube crossed the river, and made an inroad into Roman territory, crossing the eastern Alps and penetrating as far as the Adriatic. Both M. Aurelius and his colleague Verus took the field, and the invasion was checked; but after the death of Verus, Marcus was obliged to take command on the Danube, making his base at Carnuntum (not very far from Vienna), and to carry the war into the enemy's country in the valleys of the March and the Gran. This "Germanic war" lasted for three years (A.D. 171-3), and was followed by a "Sarmatic war," waged against the tribes who occupied the district between the Danube and the Theiss (now Hungary). Here he was again victorious (A.D. 174-5).

These are the wars of which the story is told on this column. Just as on Trajan's column, a figure of Victory separated the narrative of the First Dacian War from that of the Second, so here the "Germanic" and "Sarmatic" campaigns are divided in the same way. But we cannot extract a coherent narrative of either series of operations from the reliefs, which seem rather to present typical episodes of the struggle. We can also trace direct imitation of the reliefs of Trajan's column, especially in the opening scene, which shows the bridge of boats at Carnuntum. The most interesting scene (in the third winding) is the Miracle of the Rain, which is associated in Christian tradition with the story of the Thundering Legion, whose prayers unlocked the windows of heaven. On the pagan monument we see a colossal winged figure of Jupiter Pluvius dripping torrential rains from his arms and hair, which bring refreshment to the thirsty Romans, but sweep

their enemies away in destruction. Nor was this the only legend depicted on the column. On a lower winding we see the collapse of a huge wooden scaffolding, by means of which the Germans have attempted to scale the walls of a Roman fort. It has been set ablaze by a thunderbolt, and we are reminded of the story told by the biographer of Marcus Aurelius that "by his prayers he wrung from heaven a bolt launched against the enemy's engine." The principles of relief are not so well understood as they were by the sculptors of Trajan's column, and the figures often seem like marionettes. Notice also the bird's-eye perspective in which rivers are shown.

In the neighbourhood of the column—we do not exactly know where—stood the Temple of Marcus Aurelius. Not far off, on the edge of the mound of ruins called Monte Citorio, upon which the Chamber of Deputies stands, stood a second column, set up in honour of Antoninus Pius. This was a monolith of red granite: its sculptured base was removed to the Vatican in 1703 and is the Giardino della Pigna (p. 331). Close to it was the *Ustrinum*, or crematory, where the bodies of the Antonines were buried.

A little beyond the Piazza Colonna the Via in Lucina, to the L. of the Corso, marks the spot where the *Ara Pacis Augustæ* was set up in 13-9 B.C. to commemorate Augustus' safe return from the West in the former year and the pacification of the Empire. Its remains will be described later (see p. 204). Some of the sculptures found in the excavations of 1903-4, which revealed the plan of the monument, still remain underground and beneath the water level, which has risen several feet since the beginning of the Christian era.

Somewhat to the W. of the Ara Pacis Augustus laid a great pavement of white marble, which served as a sundial, with gilt lines or figures of the Zodiac. The needle was formed by an obelisk brought from Heliopolis, which is that now set up in the Piazza di Monte Citorio.

On the E. side of the Via Lata, opposite to the Ara Pacis, Aurelian (A.D. 270-5) built a great temple to the Sun,

whose worship he made the chief State religion. Traces of its architecture have been found in the neighbourhood of S. Silvestro.

[The northern and western parts of the Campus Martius were left comparatively free of buildings even in Imperial times. Some remains of the Mausoleum of Augustus, a circular building of the same type as that of Hadrian, with a grove of cypresses on the top, from the base on which the Anfiteatro Chorea is raised. On either side of the entrance were fastened the bronze tablets upon which was inscribed Augustus' record of his achievements, known to us from the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, a copy engraved on the walls of the temple of Augustus at Ancyra (Angora).

The Via S. Agostino and Via dei Coronari preserve the line of an ancient street running across the Campus from E. to W., which passed to the N. of the Odeum, a covered theatre built by Domitian. The ruins of this building probably helped to form the mound called Monte Giordano.

In the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, between the Chiesa Nuova and the Piazza Sforza-Cesarini, was a spot called Tarentum (the name is obscure), where volcanic phenomena were observed and an altar of Dis (the god of the lower world) was built. Remains of this were discovered in 1888, and not far off were found the marble tablets now in the Museo delle Terme (p. 210) upon which were inscribed the records of the Secular Games celebrated by Augustus and Septimius Severus : some of the ceremonies connected with these games took place by night at the altar of Dis.]

In the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, a little beyond the Piazza Sforza-Cesarini, is the **Museo Barracco**, containing a small but choice collection of ancient sculptures, etc., formed by Senatore Barracco and presented to the Roman municipality. This collection should be visited by all who are interested in ancient sculpture, since almost every piece possesses a definite interest or importance.¹

In the first room we have on the R. fragments of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian sculpture ; amongst these is one

¹ Labels are provided with brief indications of subject and date.

belonging to Græco-Egyptian art which deserves special notice. This is the basalt head to R. of the doorway leading into the second room—representing, apparently, a Roman with bald skull but a short beard. The fillet with which the head is encircled has a **star** in relief, and it is mainly on this ground that it has been identified as a **portrait of Julius Cæsar**, since it cannot be said that the features wear any close resemblance to those of the Dictator. Whether this surmise be right or not the head is amongst the most remarkable examples of Alexandrian sculpture.

To the L. of the same doorway are a few characteristic examples of the art of peoples subject to Greek influences. Close to the door note a female head from **Palmyra**, which no doubt dates from the zenith of that city's fortunes in the third century A.D. We see in it all the marks of that Oriental spirit which stifled the development of Græco-Roman art under the Roman Empire—the fixity of pose and absence of expression, the love of ornament for its own sake, the literal rendering of details. To the L. are painted terra-cotta figures from **Cyprus**, where the streams of culture flowing from East and West met and mingled, and in contrast with these some **Etruscan** sculptures, both early and late. We see a gravestone from Clusium (Chiusi), the home of Lars Porsenna, with archaic reliefs in the style of Greek sixth-century work, beside two heads in volcanic stone which show how strongly the **pathetic** element in later Greek sculpture appealed to the Etruscans. The head with snakes coiled about the hair is not that of a Greek Fury, but of one of the demons with which the imagination of the Etruscans peopled the lower world.

In the centre is a seated statue of **Apollo** and a torso from a copy of the **Amazon** of Polyclitus (see p. 327) ; and on the table are two heads which, though not of great merit, represent two famous works of this master—the Doryphorus (on which see p. 321) and its companion-statue, the Diadumenus, or youth binding a fillet about his head. Beside them is a double herm in which the same boy's head is twice repeated. It belongs to the Attic school of the earlier

part of the fifth century B.C. Polyclitus is also represented by the statue of a young athlete by the L. entrance-wall, though this replica may be derived rather from an adaptation of his work by an Attic artist than from the original. The lost R. arm probably held a *strigil* or scraper. Immediately to L. of the door is a fragment of an **Attic grave-relief** representing a knight who is standing beside the horse ridden by his squire. Above it is an Attic athlete-head, and to the R. a copy of the portrait of Pericles by Cresilas (p. 281). On the long shelf are several heads which illustrate different phases of fifth-century sculpture. Three of them represent Athena: the middle of these is in the style of the pediments from Ægina now at Munich, which date from the time of the Persian wars, and the male head on a bracket to the R. belongs to the same school of art. The large female head (third from L.) represents the early Peloponnesian school; while Attic art may be studied in the bearded and helmeted head of a general and the so-called Hephæstus (second to R.). In the L. corner notice a fine seated grave-statue of severe simplicity.

In the second room, to L. of the entrance (on either side of which is an Attic sepulchral vase) we see a hand holding the discus which belonged to a copy of Myron's discobolus (p. 219), and the head of his Marsyas (p. 235) is on the second bracket to R. of the door. Farther to the L. again is a charming bust of a Roman boy, dating from the Augustan period; compare it (as an example of Roman portraiture) with the beautiful Attic female head above, and also with the rugged, realistic head of an old man which belongs to the intervening period. On the shelf are two heads of Athena, which should be compared—one archaic (to R.), the other with Corinthian helmet (to L.) an Attic type of the Phidian period. A head cut in half and mounted as a relief against the wall is very like the so-called Brutus of the Room of the Dying Gaul (p. 130). By the end wall on the L. are some Greek portraits—one with closed eyes, which may represent an early ideal of Homer, then Sophocles and Euripides (a poor copy). By the end wall we have to

the L. a fine fourth-century athlete head, a dancing Satyr, and two statuettes of water-carriers executed in *rosso antico* in Imperial times to adorn a park, but derived from types of the age of Phidias. We then come to two heads, one of which is that of the old Centaur in the group described on p. 121; the other (female), if antique, is of the Pergamene school. To the R. of the glass case (which contains a few vases and minor objects) is a head of Apollo belonging to the type which we have seen in the Capitoline Museum, and several Attic reliefs, which fall into two classes—**Tomb-reliefs**, of which the commonest type is that of the **funeral banquet**, and **Votive reliefs**, in which we see human figures, usually on a small scale, in the presence of divinity. These are notable as showing how the idealising spirit of higher art made itself felt at Athens even in the work of humbler craftsmen. By the end wall on the R. we have a youthful head belonging to an athlete-statue of Polyclitus, an archaic figure of Hermes, the god of herds and flocks, carrying a ram on his shoulder, a relief of a Mænad, and a portrait of Demosthenes (cf. p. 326). Finally, by the wall on the R. of the entrance (from L. to R.) we see one of those heads, like that in the Room of the Dying Gladiator (p. 129) which, if not actually portraits of Alexander the Great, represent the Sun-god with the traits of the Macedonian conqueror. Above it is a portrait of Epicurus; and on the shelf are two heads in which Greek and Roman ideals are contrasted. The one is an Apollo of the close of the archaic period—one of the purest types of divinity which we owe to the Greek genius—the other a Mars, dating from the reign of Trajan, with figures of the wolf and twins on the fastening of the helmet. In the centre of the room are better copies of the two heads by Polyclitus which we saw in the first room, and a fine figure of a wounded dog which is ascribed (perhaps rightly) to the school of Lysippus.

THE EASTERN HEIGHTS

[I T has already been explained that the hills which formed the higher quarters of ancient Rome were not detached heights, but spurs projecting from the volcanic tableland to the E., and also that in the course of the Imperial period they became covered with parks and gardens, most of which were the property of the emperors. Consequently, although they have at all times yielded a rich harvest of works of art—especially in the years following 1880, when many of the villas of the Roman aristocracy, which gave to the hills something of their ancient aspect, were replaced by the unsightly creations of the speculative builder—they have comparatively little to show in the way of ancient monuments.]

The **Pincian** is a spur about half-a-mile in length, projecting from the tableland first in a westerly and then in a north-westerly direction until it comes within a short distance of the Tiber: it thus forms an important link in the chain of defence on the N., and was strongly fortified by Aurelian (p. 357). It was never, however, thickly inhabited, and lay altogether outside the “Servian” *enceinte*. Originally known as the “Hill of Gardens”, *collis hortulorum*), it took the name which it now bears from the family of the Pincii, who became the owners of the greater part of its surface in the fourth century A.D. The most famous of its parks in earlier times were those of **Lucullus**, the general who defeated Mithridates, and whose luxury passed into a proverb, which were on the slope where the Via Gregoriana ascends to the

Trinitá dei Monti, and those of the **Acilii Glabriones**, a family distinguished both under the Republic and Empire (when they played a part in the history of the Early Christian Church), which occupied the site of the Passeggiata del Pincio and the **Villa Medici**. The traveller who visits this villa should observe the numerous fragments of **ancient reliefs** which were used in the sixteenth century to decorate the garden front of the building. Notice especially (to the L.) a **Dacian horseman swimming the Danube**, with the parapet of Trajan's bridge in the background. This belonged to the Great Frieze of Trajan's Forum (p. 163). Some of the others—much restored in plaster—have been supposed to come from the Ara Pacis (p. 204) ; but the recent discoveries on that site have shown that this is wrong. Two of these represent **temples** which can be identified by their pediment-sculptures (difficult to see except with field-glasses) as those of the Great Mother (Cybele) on the Palatine (p. 90) and of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus (p. 152). Another represents an emperor (possibly Claudius) taking part in a solemn procession, and wearing the *apex* or close-fitting spiked cap of the *flamen*. In the garden is a statue, the head of which is a replica of the **Meleager** of the Vatican, and a far better copy than that in the Belvedere.

From the Trinitá dei Monti runs to the S. the modern street (at first the Via Sistina) which under various names crosses the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline together with the intervening valleys. Turning to the L. by the Via di Porta Pinciana and issuing from the gate of that name, we come to the Villa Borghese. Besides the picture-gallery on the upper floor of the Casino Borghese (*Christian Rome*, p. 340) there is a collection of ancient and modern sculpture on the ground floor which is well worthy of a visit : although many of the statues are only decorative, some are mere imitations of the antique, and all have been ruthlessly restored.

In the **portico** are some fragments of large reliefs which represent Roman legionaries and standard-bearers in serried ranks, the back rows being shown *above* those in front of

them, according to the methods of perspective which we observe on Trajan's column. These were formerly supposed to come from the Arch of Claudius in Piazza Sciarra (p. 181), but there is no ground for this, and they clearly belong to the same group as the fragments of the Great Frieze from Trajan's Forum, one of which we have just seen in the Villa Medici. The ensigns of the prætorian guards, with their medallion portraits of Imperial personages, are accurately represented. Notice to the L. a torso belonging to a free copy of the Athena Parthenos—the maiden goddess of Athens who gave her name to the Parthenon—of Phidias.

On entering the great **hall**, we see that it is partly paved with the fragments of a large **mosaic**, discovered in a villa near Tusculum (Frascati), representing the **gladiatorial combats** and **wild-beast hunts** of the amphitheatre. Notice the inscriptions giving the barbaric names of the fighters, the beasts represented—lion, panther, ostrich, elk—and the fight between *retiarii*, light-armed gladiators with trident and net, against the vizarded swordsmen called *secutores*. Beside the prostrate form of one *retiarius* named Cupido we see the Greek letter *theta*, which signifies *thanatos* ("death").

The colossal heads and statues in this room have been so much restored and their surface so thoroughly polished that they can hardly be considered as unadulterated specimens of the antique. Nevertheless, they give a good impression of the style of work with which the halls of Imperial palaces were filled. 49 is a statue of Augustus in the act of sacrificing; 48 an idealised portrait of Hadrian; 50 a head of Antoninus Pius, possibly modern; 39 is a nameless Imperial statue with the eagle of Jupiter (modern head). The colossal satyrs (36, conceived as threatening a panther with his uplifted crook) and 45, made up from an ancient torso with traces of the tail, have considerable decorative effect. The Meleager (40) is much inferior to the Vatican copy (p. 307). Do not forget to notice the fragments of a Bacchic frieze (one over the door, others inserted in the bases of 36 and 49): it is an elegant piece of Hellenistic design.

In the **first room** to the **R.** (in the centre of which is Canova's statue of Pauline Borghese) notice on the entrance wall (71) a **relief of Artemis**, the Nurse of Children (distinguished by her quiver-band and the deer at her side) to whom a mortal woman is handing her child. It is an adaptation, dating from the classical Renaissance under Hadrian, of an Attic relief of about 400 B.C. Opposite we see (64) another copy of an Attic relief, representing **Ajax** dragging the priestess **Cassandra** from the altar of Athena in the sack of Troy. 65 and 69 are *genre* statuettes of street-boys, such as were used for the decoration of gardens ; 58 an example of a type of Aphrodite which has been attributed to Alcamenes, the pupil of Phidias.

In the **second room** (which contains in the centre Bernini's David, one of the least melodramatic and, therefore, the most tolerable of his works) we notice a large **sarcophagus** (79) upon which the **labours of Hercules** are shown in compartments divided by pillars carrying arcades. No. 5 c, opposite, is the back of the same sarcophagus. On No. 79 is a cover (80) with a gracefully conceived relief representing the arrival of **Penthesilea**, queen of the Amazons, with her train at Troy. She is greeted by Priam, and beside this central group we have to L. Andromache and her child Astyanax, with attendants, and to R. Hecuba, holding the urn which contains Hector's ashes, and Amazon's arming. The beautiful **female head** (85) belongs to the school of Phidias, and has even been supposed to represent an Aphrodite by the master himself. By the entrance-wall is (78) a herm of **Pan**, as to the type of which see what is said on p. 337 ; 4 c is a relief from the cover of a sarcophagus, much restored, which gives the story of Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis, who are seen in the central composition taking their places amongst the Olympian gods (represented by the three divinities of the Capitoline temple). On the L. we see the wanderings of Leto, who is at length welcomed by the divinities of Delos ; on the R. probably Iris conveying to Olympus her appeal for the aid of Ilithyia in her travail.

In the **next room** notice in the centre Bernini's "Apollo and Daphne," a work of the sculptor's eighteenth year, and compare its restless, unrhythmical lines and theatrical spirit with the restraint and seriousness of ancient sculpture. The chief statue in this room is an **Apollo** (117) of "archaistic" style. The other works are mostly decorative *genre* sculptures, the best of which is the (115) **boy with a bird**. The marble **fountain** (107) carved in imitation of a sea-shore with boatmen, angler, etc., no doubt stood in the peristyle of a Roman house.

To the L. we pass into a large **gallery** with **modern porphyry busts** of emperors, and a large porphyry **basin** said to have been found in the mausoleum of Hadrian. The antique statues in niches are unimportant.

The **sleeping Hermaphrodite** (172) in the next room will be better discussed in connection with the replica in the Museo delle Terme. Notice the **archaic female head** (181) which may be an early Greek original, with its almond-shaped eyes and the grimace which does duty for a smile in early art. 176 is a modern copy of the bronze in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 144).

In the centre of the next room is Bernini's "Æneas carrying Anchises," his first important work, executed when he was only fifteen years old. 199 is a group of Asclepius, the god of healing, with his attendant spirit Telesphorus, who presided over convalescence; 191 a poor replica of a pretty garden-statue which served as a fountain, of which we shall see a better example in the Vatican. 183 seems to be a modification by a later artist of a type of Athena created in the fifth century, of which we have an example in the Museo Chiaramonti (p. 320).

The group in the middle of the next room (a Satyr riding on a dolphin) is mainly notable because it served as the model for the Jonah designed by Raphael now in S. Maria del Popolo. Notice 216, an **archaic female figure** (the head is somewhat like that in the room of the Hermaphrodite) which seems to be an original of the earlier part of the fifth century B.C., and a work of the school which aimed

at severe simplicity of drapery, to which we owe the statues in the Atrio of the Capitoline Museum (p. 105). 201 forms a striking contrast. It is a Mænad, the work of a late Hellenistic school noted for refinement and ingenuity in the handling of drapery.

In the last room stands (in the centre) the statue called the "**Borghese Satyr.**" The arms were wrongly restored by Thorwaldsen with cymbals; he should be playing on the double pipe. The statue is a fine example of the work produced by the school founded by Lysippus: the original was of bronze, lightly poised (without the aid of the supports which are necessary in marble) upon its dancing feet. We are reminded of the Marsyas type (cf. p. 143), but can hardly give that name to this statue. Notice 237, a seated figure bearing a head which does not belong to it (perhaps a portrait of the historian Thucydides). It reminds us, especially in the drapery, which instead of covering the knees only, as in statues of Zeus, enwraps the lower part of the body of the so-called Menander of the Vatican (p. 292). The L. hand held a sceptre, and the form of the throne shows that a ruler or statesman, not a philosopher or poet, was represented; but it is very possible that the original head was in this copy that of a Roman, though the Greek artist created the type for a Hellenistic king. Compare this statue with No. 233, which represents **Pluto**, the god of the lower world—another derivative of the seated Zeus, distinguished by the figure of the dog Cerberus seated beside him, and the wearing of tunic as well as mantle. 232 is a good replica (head restored) of the "Marble Faun" (p. 130).

[The **Pincian** is separated from the **Quirinal** by a valley occupied in ancient times by the *Horti Sallustiani*, or Gardens of Sallust, which also extended over the higher ground of the modern "Ludovisi" quarter. Julius Cæsar bought and laid out this park, which lay just outside the line of the old city wall along the crest of the Quirinal, and

after his death the property was purchased by the historian Sallust ; it soon passed into the hands of the emperors. It was perhaps the finest of the Roman parks, and its devastation by the Goths of Alaric in A.D. 410 was as grievous a calamity as that of the Villa Ludovisi, which took its place in modern times, by the builders of the new residential quarter. The obelisk now standing in the Piazza of the Trinitá dei Monti was found near the Casino dell' Aurora, and other finds show that this part of the grounds was laid out in the Egyptian style. In the valley was a long *hippodromus* or walled garden in the shape of a race-course, like that of the Palatine (p. 195), with fountains, etc. Almost all the remains of these structures have now been destroyed, except those at the upper end, in the Piazza Sallustiana. They belong to a *nymphæum* or large fountain, and a building in several storeys. A temple of Venus, built in 181 B.C. in honour of the goddess of Mt. Eryx in Sicily, is spoken of as outside the Colline Gate and in the Gardens of Sallust—i.e. in or near the Via di Porta Salara, above the remains just mentioned. Under the Empire it was much beautified, and became a fashionable place of resort for the *demi-monde*. It is mentioned here because the Throne of Aphrodite in the Ludovisi collection (p. 206) has been supposed to come from the temple : but this conjecture is improbable since the throne was found in the Via Abruzzi.]

We may commence our ascent of the **Quirinal** from the Piazza di Venezia by the Via Nazionale. Notice the remains of the Servian wall in the Piazza Magnanapoli, and see what is said as to them (and the archway in the Palazzo Antonelli) on page 355. The wall skirted the Quirinal throughout the length of its western slope. Turn to the L. by the Via del Quirinale leading up to the royal palace. On this part of the hill were famous buildings of the later Empire—the **temple of Serapis**, built by Caracalla, and the **Baths of Constantine**, which were connected by porticoes with Caracalla's building. The temple of Serapis was to the W., and its remains were to be seen in the **Colonna gardens** until the seventeenth century, and were supposed

by the scholars of the Renaissance to be part of the Tower of Mæcenas from which Nero watched the fire of Rome. Some fine **architectural fragments** of the frieze and pediment are preserved in the gardens. The Palazzo Rospigliosi marks the site of the Baths of Constantine, whose longer axis reached from the Consulta to the Via Nazionale. All remains of the buildings have been destroyed, but the works of art which can be traced to this source give some idea of the magnificence of its adornments. They include the torso of the Belvedere (p. 308), the bronzes of the Museo delle Terme found in the Via Nazionale (p. 211), the statues of Constantine and his sons on the Capitol and in the Lateran (p. 104), the river-gods of the Capitoline piazza (p. 103), and the **Colossal Dioscuri**, never buried, though probably removed from their original position, which form so conspicuous a landmark in the Piazza of Monte Cavallo. Although they are works of the Imperial period, they are earlier than the time of Constantine, and were possibly plundered from some other public building, just as Trajan's Forum and an arch of M. Aurelius were laid under contribution for the adornment of Constantine's arch. We must conceive of them as originally not free-standing groups, but as placed relief-wise on either side of a monumental gateway. Compare the Dioscuri which stand at the head of the ascent to the Capitol piazza (p. 103): the Heavenly Twins were well fitted to stand thus as warders of the gate. On their bases are the inscriptions *OPUS FIDIAE* and *OPUS PRAXITELIS*, which can at the earliest belong to the middle of the fifth century, when the Baths of Constantine were restored after the sack of the Goths; and there is no ground whatever for the supposition that they were copied from statues by Phidias and an elder Praxiteles, grandfather of the fourth-century artist. Such inscriptions are thought to have been engraved on ancient works by the adherents of decaying Paganism in order to save them from destruction at the hands of Christians by imparting to them an artistic value.

The Via Venti Settembre follows the line of the Alta

Semita, or "**High Street**" of ancient Rome, where were several important houses, such as that of the Flavians, converted by Domitian into a temple and mausoleum of the Flavian house. This seems to have been near the church of S. Andrea, to the S.W. of which were found the remains of a colossal altar set up in memory of the great fire of Nero, at which sacrifices were offered yearly to Vulcan. Opposite, in the Quirinal Gardens, was the temple of the Quirinus, the deity worshipped by the Sabine settlers on this hill (p. 6), afterwards identified with Romulus; the façade of the temple is shown on a relief in the Museo delle Terme (p. 217). At the northern angle of the Ministry of Finance was the **Colline Gate** in the old wall, which here turned sharply to the S. Here was fought the desperate battle which in B.C. 82 made Sulla secure in Rome and crushed the power of the rebellious Samnites, headed by Sulla's great rival Marius. From this gate diverged two roads—to the L. the Via Salaria, or "salt road," by which the produce of the salt marshes at the mouth of the Tiber was carried up to the hills of Central Italy, and the Via Nomentana, which pursued a somewhat more irregular course than the straight road of that name constructed in modern times.

The Servian embankment and walls running south from the angle by the Colline Gate are described on p. 355. Outside was the parade ground of the Prætorian Guards, whose barracks, built under Tiberius, were used by Aurelian as part of his line of defence. (See below, p. 359.)

Within the embankment the plateau from which the Quirinal and Viminal hills project (in the dip between them runs the Via Nazionale, whose course approximates to that of the *Vicus Longus* of antiquity) was covered by the **Baths of Diocletian**, the largest and most magnificent building of the later Empire. In its general plan it was very like the Baths of Caracalla (p. 257); the remains of which may serve to give us some idea of its proportions, which are nearly the same, though the area of the earlier building is rather smaller. The outline of the surrounding enclosure is easily traceable. In the centre of one of the

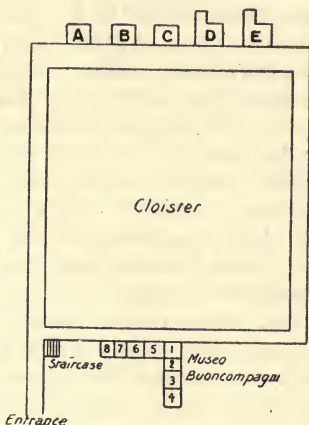
longer sides was the great apse or *Exedra*, the outline of which has been restored in the modern Piazza dell' Esedra ; and the angles are marked by two circular buildings—one, converted into the church of S. Bernardo, with its ancient cupola, once lighted by an aperture in the summit like the Pantheon, the other built into a house in the Via Viminale. Remains of the S.E. angle have been found in the Piazza dei Cinquecento at the corner of Via Gaeta.

The remains of the central building were converted into a Carthusian convent by order of Pius IV, who commissioned **Michelangelo** to carry out the design. The plan of the ancient structure was made the same as that of the Baths of Caracalla—a series of halls flanked on either side by smaller rooms and colonnaded courts. The cold bath was to the N.E., and is entirely destroyed. The hot bath, according to rule, faced the S.W., and occupied the space between the modern fountain and the entrance to the church of **S. Maria degli Angeli**, built by Michelangelo. The church itself has two parts—the transept, which is simply the great central hall of the Baths, and the rotunda which is now a vestibule, and served in ancient times as a passage leading to the hot bath. (Note that in Michelangelo's design the great hall was the nave, not the transept of the church ; in its present form it dates from 1742.) In spite of its modernisation, the great hall, with its vault in three bays springing from eight monoliths of grey granite, is to be studied as one of the triumphs of Roman architecture. The other remains of the Baths, now in private occupation as studios, etc., are to be cleared and made accessible.

At the back of this central building is the cloister of the Carthusian convent, which has been turned into a national museum (**Museo delle Terme**). The collections here preserved are constantly growing in importance with fresh discoveries. The entrance is to the S. of the church, opposite the railway station.

Passing through the entrance hall we find ourselves in the cloister, round the walls of which are ranged statues, etc.

By the **west wall** are two statues of a Roman named Sulpicius Platorinus and his wife, found in the burial-place of their family in the Trastevere, which illustrate the conventional repetition of Greek types by Roman artists of the Early Empire. Other objects from the same spot will be seen upstairs. Two statues by the same wall, discovered in the so-called Stadium of the Palatine (p. 97), show us the kind of decoration found in the Imperial palaces. One is a



MUSEO DELLE TERME - GROUND FLOOR

seated nymph ; a similar figure composed as a pendant to this was also found in the Stadium. The workmanship is smooth, but lacking in life and distinction. The other is a headless female statue which reminds us of the Héra Barberini in the Vatican Rotunda (p. 278). The two figures, however, differ in many details which reveal themselves on a closer inspection ; and while both are modifications of a fifth-century ideal type of Hera, this is somewhat nearer to the original. The copy is of the time of Hadrian, and the treatment of the drapery is remarkably skilful. 30 is a

graceful statuette of Victory, which originally had wings of bronze inserted in the shoulders. The headless Heracles and Apollo with tripod were found in an ancient villa in the Campagna below Marino.

In the far corner notice a fine specimen of the Roman **Corinthian capital**, restored and mounted on a shaft of *pavonazzetto*. Here we turn to the R. On the N. wall open several of the small dwellings assigned to the Carthusian monks ; see letters on plan.

In B are sculptures found at Ostia, the port of Rome. In the centre of the first room is an **altar** with **reliefs**. It has two inscriptions, one simply recording its dedication to Silvanus, the other giving the names of the dedicants and the date A.D. 124 ; but the reliefs have nothing to do with Silvanus, and the altar may be older than its inscription. On three of its faces we have subjects taken from the conventional Hellenistic *répertoire*—Mars and Venus ; Cupids playing with the war-god's armour and seizing the reins of his chariot—on the fourth a purely Roman subject treated after the methods of landscape relief, which gives us the measure of the native artist's power of invention. The relief is in two zones ; below are the Wolf and Twins and Father Tiber with his urn ; above, the shepherds and the youthful god of the Palatine on the hill-top. The fancy of the artist runs riot in the rocky strip which separates these zones, which is instinct with animal life—snake, rabbit, lizard, mouse, and snail, as well as the eagle of Imperial Rome.

Three portrait heads in this room should be noticed as exemplifying the art of different periods. By the window is a hard-featured Roman of the latest Republican period ; to the left an excellent portrait of **Vespasian**, the shrewd, close-fisted money-lender's son, quite as unprepossessing as the first-named subject, but rendered with just the happy touch of genius which makes ugly features attractive ; lastly, in the corner, a head labelled Gordian, and certainly belonging to the third century A.D., marking the decline of art.

The inscriptions let into the walls of C and D are of great

historical interest. They were found in the grove of the Dea Dia, an ancient divinity of Mother Earth whose rites—scarcely understood in historical times—were celebrated by the **Arval Brotherhood**. This priestly college was revived by Augustus, and its chief duty became the offering of prayers and thanksgivings in connection with important occasions in the life of the emperors, who were always members of the college. We are thus often enabled by their records to fix the dates of historical events. The text of the **Hymn of the Arval Brothers**, one of the earliest remains of the Latin language, the very meaning of which was probably quite unknown to the Romans of the Empire, is preserved on a fragment in the Vatican. The inscriptions range from 21 B.C. to A.D. 241.

In the centre of Room D is a beautiful **altar** found in the bed of the Tiber and decorated with naturalistic plane-leaves. It is of the Augustan period, and proves that beside the classical school of conventional ornament there was another founded on direct observation of nature.

In the inner room is an interesting inscription called the **Alimentary Table** of the *Ligures Bæbiani*. Under the enlightened rule of Nerva and his successors loans were made by the Government to Italian agriculturists at low rates of interest on the security of their land; their payments were devoted to the maintenance of poor children. In the present case the endowment was due to Trajan and dates from A.D. 101. About £4000 was lent on ample security (the sum represented about one-tenth of the capital value of the land), and the interest was fixed at $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ (or perhaps 5% if the payments mentioned were half-yearly). The "Ligurians of Bæbius" were settlers transplanted by the consul of 180 B.C. from N. Italy (where he had waged war successfully) to the neighbourhood of Beneventum in the S., in the district once known as Taurasia and mentioned on the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus in the Vatican (p. 309), who conquered it in the third century B.C.

In E we have fragments of reliefs, amongst which notice (by the L. wall) **two heroes** in ambush, perhaps Odysseus

and Diomed : also Cupids driving chariots in the circus. By the window is a charming female head, which once belonged to a seated figure holding the distaff in a famous relief of the **Three Fates** dating from the time of Praxiteles. On the R. wall is a relief which at first sight appears archaic in style, representing Zeus seated on a throne adorned with the figure of an eagle and stretching out his R. hand to a worshipper (mostly destroyed). The inscription tells us that it was dedicated to **Zeus Xenios**, the god of hospitality, and the lettering cannot be dated earlier than the first century B.C. It is a work of the school which imitated models of the "severe" style.

In the inner room to R. notice a fragmentary relief of three female figures in the classical style of the fifth century B.C., reminding us of the treatment of drapery of the chaste simplicity of the Parthenon frieze. See what is said about the class to which this relief belonged on p. 233. Very different is the fragment which shows **Prometheus chained** to a rock : this is a significant example of the reliefs of the later Hellenistic period when the element of landscape was introduced. Notice, too, by the window a fragment which represents a philosopher seated in the attitude of meditation. The inscription names him—Anaximander, a Milesian of the sixth century B.C., whose daring speculations on the origin of life were amongst the boldest flights of the new-born Greek genius ; he held that "living creatures arose from the moist element as it was evaporated by the sun, and that man was like another animal, viz. a fish, in the beginning." The portrait is, of course, not contemporary, but Hellenistic in conception ; such reliefs as this were used for the adornment of libraries. In the centre of the room is a statue of a boy-Satyr who has just become aware that he possesses a tail (now lost) and is trying to catch a glimpse of it—a charming creation of the Hellenistic age.

In the small room to L. is a beautiful female head which has been sawn in half with a mantle wrapped closely round hair and chin. This too belongs to the third century B.C. at earliest.

In the passage at the back of the suite is an architect's **model** of the **stage-buildings** of a **theatre**.

In F. notice a relief of two *camilli* (cf. p. 144) on the L. wall. To L. are fragments of two replicas of a boy-Satyr playing the flute (cf. p. 110); the **child Dionysus** resting on a hand belonged to a statue of Hermes of which a copy (*without* the L. hand and child!) exists at Madrid. The composition is not as good as that of the famous Hermes of Praxiteles at Olympia, and this group was probably the work of Praxiteles' father, Cephisodotus. Notice, too, the **female head**, a replica of that of the so-called Penelope (p. 291), the torso of a **Satyr, pouring wine** from a jug held in the uplifted R. arm, a Praxitelean creation (to be compared with a similar, but earlier, figure in the L. inner room) and the figure of the **Minotaur** between the inner doors. In the room to R. is a Hermes of fourth-century style and some "archaistic" sculptures.

In the corner of the cloister notice the large **mosaic** with a scene from the banks of the **Nile**. It was found on the Aventine, and shows the influence of Alexandria on this branch of decorative art.

In the N. angle of the cloister has been placed¹ (temporarily) a statue of a **maiden carrying a dish**, found at Porto d' Anzo (the ancient Antium), where it had stood in a niche overlooking the sea. It is copied from a work of the early Hellenistic period. The drapery is disposed with the art which conceals art, and the slim, girlish figure, intent upon her burden, is triumphantly rendered. On the dish we see a roll, a bay-wreath and a lion's claw which may have been the foot of a casket or tripod. It has therefore been thought that the maiden is a **poetess**; but it is more likely that she has taken part in a chorus of "laurel-bearers" in honour of Apollo. The roll would contain the text of the ode which they sang. Others think that the statue is that of a **boy**.

In the E. corridor are sarcophagi—one adorned with the figures of a mother and child, another with that of a man holding the bust of his wife in his hand, a third (preserving

¹ This is now upstairs.

traces of colour) with a marriage-group in the centre between female figures personifying cities and provinces important for the corn-supply of Rome (e.g. Alexandria with the Pharos or lighthouse to L., Africa crowned with the elephant's proboscis to R.). The baskets of corn leave no doubt that the dead man was a high official charged with the supervision of the *annona*, or provision of corn for the Roman people.

In the corner of this corridor are fragments of the **Ara Pacis Augustæ**, which was mentioned on p. 184. This monument deserves attention as the most perfect specimen of the new Imperial art called into being by Augustus. The altar stood in an almost square walled enclosure of marble, the sides of which were a little over 30 feet in length, and this was decorated in relief within and without. Portions of these reliefs have been found at various times, beginning from the sixteenth century, and the plan of the monument was recovered in 1903-4 : unfortunately the excavations were suspended from lack of funds. On the inside the boundary wall was adorned with festoons of fruit and flowers, in the "naturalistic" style of which we have just seen an example ; on the outside the decoration was in two bands. Below was a system of conventional, but beautifully designed, scrolls of vegetable ornament, springing from acanthus-plants, but terminating in a variety of forms (peonies, ivy-clusters, etc.), and enlivened by minute figures of birds and insects (frogs, lizards, etc.)—the whole a splendid example of "classical" ornament with a touch of naturalism in its details. Above this was a band of reliefs of great historical interest. The enclosure had two entrances—to E., facing the *Via Lata* (Corso), and W.—so that there were unbroken friezes on the N. and S. sides and four panel-scenes, one on either side of each entrance. The long friezes represented processions—that on the S. the most interesting, since it contained portraits of all the great ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Empire (flamens, pontifices, etc.) and perhaps also of the family of Augustus. Unfortunately the slabs of this frieze, discovered in the sixteenth century, are now in the Uffizi at Florence, and one (with figures of flamens) which came to

light in 1903 has never been removed from the spot where it lies, embedded in the foundations of the Palazzo Fiano ! We shall see a slab of the somewhat less interesting N. frieze in the Cortile del Belvedere (p. 302).

The finest of the square panels is likewise in Florence : it is a beautiful landscape-relief with a figure of the Earth-goddess and her children together with personifications of the life-giving Breezes that blow over land and sea. This seems to have been adapted by the Augustan artist from a Hellenistic composition, and to have been balanced by a figure of Rome, grouped with the Wolf and Twins, Mars, etc.—both on the side facing the Corso. One only of the corresponding panels on the W. has been preserved. It is that which we see here—composed of two slabs found at different times (1859 and 1903), but fitting accurately together. The subject is the **Sacrifice of a Sow**. To the L., on an eminence, is a small temple containing statues of a pair of divinities : these are perhaps the Penates of Rome, and the hill is in that case the Velia. Below are two graceful figures of laurel-wreathed attendants, one of whom stoops to lead the sow, the other—a *camillus*—holds a dish of fruit and pinecones in his L. hand and a jug in his R. The rustic altar of stone with a wreath thrown across it is partly destroyed, together with the oak tree above. To the R. is the sacrificing priest, a bearded ideal figure with the toga wrapped about his waist and drawn over the back of his head according to the prescribed ritual, and behind him are the remains of a figure leaning upon a staff. It is difficult to identify these figures ; but on the whole it seems best to see in them personifications of the Senate and people of Rome, by whose decree the altar was set up. We cannot deny that the ideal scenes of the entrance-walls are incongruous with the realistic processional friezes, which have no organic connection with them : this mixture of real and ideal elements is a feature of Imperial art.

A door in the S. corridor leads into the **Museo Buoncompagni**, a suite of rooms in which are preserved the sculptures of the **Ludovisi collection**, acquired by the

State and transferred hither from the Palazzo Margherita. Many of its finest marbles were found in the region of the *Horti Sallustiani* (p. 194).

In **Room 1** the most interesting work is (1) the marble **throne** with reliefs placed on the L. with its face to the wall. It is an original Greek work of the late archaic period, exquisitely conceived and delicately rendered, though of course lacking the perfect naturalism of fully developed art. On the back we see **Aphrodite** rising from the waves, which the artist has ingeniously hidden by means of a veil, and uplifted by two maidens—Nymphs or Hours—clothed in semi-transparent tunics: the seashore is indicated by the pebbly beach on which they stand. The unnatural position of the breasts of the goddess is an archaic convention. On the sides of the throne are two figures which have not unnaturally suggested a comparison with the "Sacred and Profane love" of Titian's painting. The contrast between the veiled bride, dropping grains of incense into a brazier, and the naked flute-girl, sounding the praises of Love on the double pipe, is perfect in every detail; but we must always remember that the meaning which we cannot help reading into the figures was *not* that of the artist; to him both alike were worshippers of Aphrodite, and no more. We should like to think that this throne had been brought from Greece to adorn the Temple of Venus Erycina in the Gardens of Sallust; but, as was shown on p. 195, this is not likely; nor can we accept the view that the **colossal female head** (33), also of the archaic period, belonged to the goddess seated thereon. Notice the holes for metal curls and ornaments on the head and shoulders: probably only the nude parts of the statue were in marble. We cannot identify the goddess with certainty, since the head belongs to a time when the ideals of divinity were not as yet differentiated. 12 is an archaic draped statue of the kind described above, p. 105 (head restored in plaster). The two herms on the R. represent (46) Heracles and (62) Theseus. There are other herms of the same kind in the side-rooms, which represent Athena, Hermes, and Dionysus. They very probably adorned a

gymnasium ; the types were borrowed from Greek works of the late fifth and fourth centuries.

We pass into the next room (*not* that on the R.) and see on the L. (32) a **Satyr pouring wine**—wrongly restored with a bunch of grapes instead of a jug in the R. hand—as the cupbearer of Dionysus, after a bronze original of Praxiteles.

In the following room, by the L. wall, is a group (39) commonly called **Orestes and Electra**, who, it is supposed, are waiting at the tomb of their father Agamemnon. It is signed by the artist Menelaus, pupil of Stephanus, whose master Pasiteles was the contemporary of Cicero and Cæsar. Menelaus, therefore, probably worked towards the close of Augustus' reign or even later. The school to which he belonged was inspired by classical models (Stephanus, for example, has left his signature on a figure derived from a fifth-century athlete type), and in this group we have an unskilful adaptation of types taken from Attic grave-monuments. If, indeed, the group is mythological, then it is possible that Orestes and his sister are represented ; but the sculptor has even left us in doubt whether the scene is one of parting or of meeting. The short hair of the girl betokens mourning, and we know that Electra appeared thus on the stage ; this is a point in favour of the popular interpretation of the scene. Opposite is a seated portrait-statue signed by Zeno of Aphrodisias, one of the school whose works we have seen in the Capitoline Museum (p. 119). The type is simply borrowed from earlier Greek art ; compare the so-called Marcellus of the Capitol (p. 120).

In the end room, by the back wall, is (10) a **large sarcophagus** of the third century A.D. with a battle scene of Romans and barbarians, apparently Orientals. Vigorous and dramatic as it is, the composition is confusing to the eye, and the lack of a neutral background gives it the effect of a complicated ornamental pattern rather than of a picture. The Roman commander has a mark in the shape of a cross on his forehead ; and what seems like a portrait of the same person with an identical mark is in the Room of the Doves in the Capitoline Museum. He may be Timesitheus, the

father-in-law of Gordian III (A.D. 238-44), who accompanied him as prefect of the prætorian guard in his wars with the newly-founded Persian monarchy.

On the R. wall are the fragments of a very large relief, apparently composed for the purpose of wall-decoration, representing the **judgment of Paris**. The figures of Paris and Eros remind us of the relief in Palazzo Spada: the group of Hermes and the three goddesses is put together from well-known types.

Some of the portraits in this room are worthy of note. A bronze head next to the sarcophagus is one of the rare examples in that material from the late Republican period: it has been quite wrongly described as a portrait of Julius Cæsar. There is a fine head of the Julio-Claudian period to the R. of the doorway, and over the door a good portrait of Gallienus, the *dilettante* Emperor of the third century whose folly almost led to the dismemberment of the Empire.

Returning to the first room, we turn to the L. On the L. is a head (10) recently recognised as a portrait of **Aristotle**, the head of a thinker, with a short beard, trimmed in the style of the portraits of Euripides, which are thus shown to be derived from an original fully one century later than the poet's lifetime.

On the L. is (37) a **statue of Ares** (Mars), seated on a rock, and clasping his L. knee in both hands. The god of battles has laid aside his arms, and his thoughts are turning from war to love, as is shown by the figure of Eros playing at his feet: moreover, there are traces on the L. shoulder which show that the Goddess of Love herself was represented at his side. Nevertheless, these figures were simply added by the Roman copyist in order to make explicit what the Greek sculptor had left to the imagination of the beholder. The original was most probably a work of **Lysippus**—it should be compared with the Apoxyomenos (p. 326), which it resembles closely in its proportions and treatment of the nude. On the other hand, the head is like that of the Meleager (p. 307) and others attributed to **Scopas**, and this has led to the conjecture that the statue is reduced

and adapted from a colossal Ares by that master which we know to have been brought to Rome.

In the second room, on the L., is (59) a statue of **Hermes the Orator**. He should have the *caduceus* or wand in his L. hand instead of the purse, and his R. arm should be raised towards the head: the so-called "Germanicus" of the Louvre illustrates this motive. The original was of the fifth century, possibly of the school of Myron.

Opposite, on the R., is a Pergamene group belonging to the same series as the Dying Gaul of the Capitol (p. 128). It was once called by the names of "Arria and Pætus," after the Stoic and his wife who perished under Claudius, Arria killing herself first and handing the dagger to her husband with the words, "Pætus, it does not hurt": but the finely characterised heads of wild, barbaric aspect should have made such a mistake impossible. The pathos of the group, in which we see the proud barbarian slaying his wife in order to save her from slavery and shame, is more dramatically intense, but hardly deeper than that of the Gaul of the Capitol in his slow agony.

On the L. of the further door is the beautiful head of a **Sleeping Fury**, once known as the "Medusa Ludovisi," but now recognised as not dead but sleeping. The snaky locks of the traditional Erinnys have been softened by later Greek art into the less fantastic form of disordered tresses. Perhaps the Fury was represented as sleeping on the threshold of Apollo's shrine at Delphi, ready to wake at the coming of Orestes in his search for purification.

In the last room, facing the door, is the famous **Juno Ludovisi**, upon which unbounded admiration has been lavished. Beautiful as it is, it is not an original work of Greek sculpture; the fashion in which the hair is twisted at the back is that of the Julio-Claudian period, and the woollen fillet encircling the diadem likewise points to the fact that the head really belongs to a **colossal statue of a Roman Empress idealised as Juno** (Hera). It is beyond doubt the finest example we possess of the "classicising" style which came into fashion under Augustus, and there is

something cold and academic in its aspect in spite of the purity of its forms, in which we recognise the influence of fourth-century models of the Praxitelean school.

On the L. is (57) a copy—one of the largest in existence—of the masterpiece of Phidias, the virgin **Athena** of the **Parthenon**. Unfortunately it has been worked over and badly restored in modern times, and so fails to give us a good impression of the original of gold and ivory. The name of the copyist, partly preserved on a fold of drapery close to the R. foot, was apparently Antiochus. The helmet should have a towering crest with griffins on either side: the R. hand held a figure of Victory, the L. rested on the shield.

We now return to the **entrance-hall** of the Museum (the Roman statues in the S. corridor are not important) and ascend the **staircase** to the **upper floor**. On the wall at the top of the stairs are two large tablets with inscriptions recording the celebration of the **Secular Games** by Augustus and again by Septimius Severus. They were supposed to herald the advent of a new age, and to take place at intervals of 100 or 110 years, so that no one might see them twice; but as ambitious emperors were always anxious to celebrate them, the official calculations were made to square with their wishes. Horace composed his *Carmen Sæculare* for the Games of Augustus (17 B.C.), and this is mentioned in the earlier inscription.

In the centre of the room is a fragment of a group which represents a maiden carried off, perhaps by a Centaur (the hand only remains). It was a fine Hellenistic work.

Notice the mosaic of a **skeleton** with the legend (in Greek), "Know thyself," destined to remind its owner of the vanity of life.

Turning to the L.,¹ we find ourselves in a room on the side walls of which are **stucco reliefs** from a vaulted chamber in a house discovered in the grounds of the Villa Farnesina, on the R. bank of the Tiber, with Bacchic subjects or

¹ These rooms have been rearranged. In one is the Maiden of Antium (p. 203).

open mouth. The boxing-straps on the hands (leaving the finger-joints free) are accurately represented. We must suppose that the boxer is resting after a fight and talking to a comrade. The original was of the late Hellenistic period, and bears traces of having been restored in ancient times.

Beside it stands a work which differs widely from it in spirit, although perhaps not in date. This is the idealised portrait of a Hellenistic king whom we are unable to identify, represented in heroic nudity ; in his L. hand he held a lance. This pose—or one very like it—was used by Lysippus for a famous statue of Alexander the Great, and after him (with modifications) by many later artists. Roman letters and numerals, the significance of which is not clear, are engraved with dotted lines on the body and R. leg ; but the statue is clearly an original, not a Roman copy.

The bronze statue of **Dionysus**, with eyes of silver and lips of copper, stands on a much lower artistic level than the two just described. It has been conjectured to be a Campanian work of the second or third century B.C. The fragments of bronze statues by the walls of the room belonged to the figures which stood on a triumphal arch at the entrance of the so-called **Bridge of Valentinian**, found just below the Ponte Sisto, and apparently rebuilt by Valentinian I in A.D. 365 on the site of an earlier bridge called the Pons Aurelius.

The next room contains examples of most of the great schools of classical Greek sculpture. On the R. as we enter we see the torso of an athlete by Polyclitus, a charming female statue (headless, with drapery slipping from the R. arm) belonging to the Attic school of the later fifth-century, too young for Aphrodite, and an Athena (headless, but wearing the ægis) of severe style. By the wall facing the doorway is a statue of **Apollo**, a careful but somewhat hard copy of a bronze original, possibly a work of the young Phidias. It should be restored with bow in R. and laurel-branch in L. Even in the copy we can trace something of that mastery in the modelling of the nude which was the

secret of Attic sculpture. To the L. of the Apollo are two female heads, one an Aphrodite of the age of Praxiteles, the other (with broad fillet round the hair) from a somewhat earlier statue of Hygeia, the goddess of health. On the R. of the Apollo is a fourth-century boy's head, and on either side of the door a head of Asclepius, the god of healing. That in the L. corner is conventional, and looks almost like an archaic work: it has been conjectured to be derived from a statue by the artist Phyromachus at Pergamon, where (as we have already seen, p. 128) sculptors drew their inspiration from earlier models when called upon for types of divinity. By the wall to R. of exit notice the torso of an archaic female statue, and a "severe" female head belonging to the Peloponnesian school of the fifth century.

Passing into the next room we see more of the **stucco reliefs** already described. Some of the panel-subjects may have been inspired by paintings; and there is much in the landscapes which reminds us of the wall-paintings of Rome and Pompeii.

In the centre is a statue of the young **Dionysus**, found in Hadrian's Villa. It has been held that this is an original work of Hadrian's time, inspired by the "classicising" eclectic spirit of the short-lived Renaissance of Hellenism fostered by the Emperor: but it seems rather to be copied from a bronze of the fourth century B.C. (notice the treatment of the panther's skin), and the supposed eclecticism is due to a real mixture of styles. Perhaps the sculptor Euphranor of Corinth may have been the creator of the type.

In the centre of the next room is a statue which is still the despair of critics. It represents a **boy kneeling**. His L. knee almost touches the ground (which has a wavy surface like that of wet sand, but may be a conventional representation of rocks), and his R. arm is uplifted, while his head was thrown far back and looked up to the R. The rendering of the flesh is so full of life that the statue has often been considered as a Greek original: but the tree-trunk can hardly be explained except as a support added by the copyist in

marble of a bronze work. The subject has not been identified ; if mythological it may be a Niobid, or possibly Hylas surprised by the Nymphs while drawing water—his pitcher might have been supported on the L. knee, which is broken at the cap. But it is more likely that the statue is a bit of *genre* work of the early Hellenistic age ; it has been suggested that the boy was in the act of catching a ball in the uplifted R. hand. It was found on the supposed site of Nero's villa at Subiaco, together with the head of a sleeping girl by the R. window, a charming work of about the same date.

The head beside the other window is that of a **Persian**, mortally stricken, whose features are convulsed by the agony of death. The marble is that characteristic of the copies of **Pergamene** works in Rome. We know that Attalus I set up a series of bronze groups on the Acropolis of Athens in commemoration of his victories over the Gauls (see p. 128). Not only were these events themselves portrayed, but also other triumphs, historical and mythical, of order over barbarism—the victory of Athens over Persia, of Theseus over the Amazons, of the Olympian gods over the Giants. Copies of these—all under life-size, and all belonging to the losing side—exist in the museums of Europe ; they seem all to have been found in the remains of the Baths of Nero (p. 174). We shall meet with one of the Persians in the Galleria dei Candelabri (p. 338). Our head may perhaps be taken as evidence that similar groups on a larger scale (corresponding with that of the Dying Gaul) were set up at Pergamon itself.

At the end of the room are the entrances to two cabinets. That on the L. contains statues of **Vestals** found in the *Atrium Vestæ* (p. 72). The most perfectly preserved of these (with a good portrait head of the later second century A.D.) shows us the Vestal's dress in all its details. The hair having been wound round the heads in six plaits (which we do not see) was confined with white and red woollen fillets (*infulæ*), the ends of which hung down on the shoulders. A white head-dress

(*suffibulum*) with a purple border, fastened on the breast by a brooch or *fibula*, was worn over the fillets ; a sleeved tunic, girt high up, and a mantle, both white, completed the costume, which resembled that of a Roman bride.

In the right-hand cabinet is a fine replica of the **Sleeping Hermaphrodite**, which we have already seen in the Villa Borghese. We hear of a famous statue of this type by the Hellenistic sculptor Polycles, but this was of bronze, whereas the statue before us is calculated for the effect of marble. Repugnant as the conception is to modern taste, we cannot deny that the handling of the nude is masterly.

Returning to the main room, we notice on the back wall a series of **frescoes** belonging to the house in which the stucco reliefs already described were found. The larger part of the wall was decorated with black panels (divided by graceful columns like candelabra) on which landscapes were lightly sketched with touches of white and yellow (they can now only be discerned by close inspection). We are reminded of the account given by Pliny of a certain Ludius or Studius, who lived under Augustus and introduced a new style of wall-decoration with representations of "villas, harbours, gardens, groves, woods, hills, ponds, canals, rivers, shores—anything that took the fancy." Above these panels is a frieze whose prevailing tone is yellow, on which are painted scenes from the law courts—notably one which seems to illustrate the story of the Judgment of Solomon, or perhaps a like story told in Egypt of the Wise King Bocchoris. We see here the influence of Alexandrian art.

In the following room are wall-paintings from the same house with a red ground. Notice particularly the style of the smaller *framed* pictures which are evidently meant to suggest paintings of the classical period of art with a white ground like that of some Attic vases of the fifth century : the most characteristic of these represents Aphrodite attended by Eros and Persuasion (there are two others with seated female figures playing harp and lyre). There is a marked contrast between these paintings and the central scene, where we see the child Dionysus attended by the Mænads. Here it is

hard to say whether a picture or a glimpse of outer space was intended by the painter: see what was said on p. 92 about the wall-paintings of the House of Livia on the Palatine, which are of the same style. Notice the smaller scenes, clearly conceived as pictures, some with half-open shutters, in the upper part of the walls.

In the corner to the R. of the entrance is a youthful male head of fourth-century type, and in the centre of the room a statue of a boy athlete in green basalt. The original was of the fifth century B.C., probably of the Peloponnesian school; the material was chosen in order to imitate the *patina* of bronze, and also to display the skill of the artist in handling a difficult material.

In the rooms **to the L.** are more paintings from the house by the Tiber. In the first the ground is white. Notice the graceful figure of a seated lady of "classical" style, and also the shuttered pictures of the frieze, which belong to a very different style of art, illustrating no doubt the later Greek comedy.

The case in the centre of the room contains iridescent glass vessels and objects of amber and lead, dedicated by women in the temple of Venus at Terracina.

In the next room we again find paintings on a red ground; notice the signature of the Greek artist Seleucus on one of these.

The hoard of gold coins in the centre case was found buried in the House of the Vestals: the coins are of the fourth and fifth centuries.

In the last room the background of the frescoes is white, and suggests a **portico with green columns**. Here we see another imitation of bronze, this time in black marble (*bigio*), in the seated female figure in the middle of the room.

Returning to the first room with red walls we enter another suite to the L. (13 on plan). Here are more frescoes with white ground, and some Greek portrait-heads. Notice two of the type which we have already seen in the Room of the Philosophers, representing a Hellenistic poet with

unsparing realism. One of them, it will be noticed, wears the poet's ivy-wreath. There are also two portraits of Socrates, and one (near the farther doorway) of a Hellenistic king wearing a band round the hair.

In the next room are some portraits of Roman emperors (those of Nero and Antoninus Pius should be noted) and two interesting **historical reliefs**. On the **entrance-wall** is one representing the upper part of the façade of a temple with its pediment-sculptures. As these form scenes connected with the founding of Rome (Mars visiting Rhea Sylvia, the Wolf and Twins) it has been thought that the temple is that of **Venus and Roma** built by Hadrian (p. 79): but the lower half of the relief (which we shall presently see in the Lateran, p. 231) seems to be earlier than Hadrian's reign. Possibly the temple may be that of Venus Genetrix, built by Julius Cæsar. Opposite to this is a relief on the background of which is a temple of "Tuscan" style with pediment-sculptures representing the **auspices of Romulus**, whose settlement on the Palatine was determined by the flight of birds. The temple must be that of **Quirinus** (p. 197), with whom Romulus was identified. In front of the doorway is a figure wearing the priestly cap with a spike of olive-wood (*apex*). At the sides of this relief are other fragments—two of them with curious columns like palm-trees—belonging to the same monument; they were discovered in laying the foundations of the Piazza dell' Esedra. The date is very hard to fix, but is not earlier than the time of Hadrian.

On the R. wall are several **mosaics** from an ancient villa near Baccano (an ancient lake-basin near the Lago di Bracciano), which seem to date from the beginning of the third century A.D. Some represent the Muses (with inscriptions), others mythological subjects, such as the story of Polyphemus and Odysseus or the punishment of Marsyas. In the corner to the R. notice a portrait of Gallienus. The mosaics with masks and with the rout of Bacchus came from a villa at Tusculum.

In the next room are seven portrait-herms of **charioteers**,

all found near the Trastevere railway station. Four of them wear the straps encircling the chest which are generally thought to be reins, but are more probably leather body-protectors. They date from the Julio-Claudian period. Notice the carefully curled locks of one of the youths. On the walls of the room are four mosaics representing charioteers of the several "factions," distinguished by their colours—red, white, green, and blue—whose struggles aroused tenfold more excitement in Ancient Rome than horse-racing does in modern England. The "factions" were companies formed for profit, which contracted with the magistrates responsible for the celebration of the games. Originally there were only two—the Whites and the Reds; the Greens and Blues, which were the most successful, are first heard of under the Empire. Caligula, followed by most of the succeeding emperors who patronised the sport, bestowed his favour on the Greens; Caracalla was the patron of the Blues. On the R. wall is an inscription in honour of one of the most famous charioteers—Avilius Teres, the first to achieve the distinction of winning one thousand races for the Reds; his name shows him to have been a freedman of a family which supported that "faction."

In the next room are some interesting wall-paintings from a *Columbarium* (cf. p. 222) on the Esquiline, used by the dependents of the family of the Statilii. They formed a frieze above the uppermost row of niches containing urns, and date from about the beginning of the Augustan period. The subjects are taken from the legend of Æneas and the founding of Lavinium, Alba Longa, and Rome, and are of special interest because they were in all probability painted before Virgil's *Æneid* was written. Moreover, they illustrate the beginnings of a Roman **narrative style** which was to find its fullest development in the reliefs of the Imperial Columns. Unfortunately the paintings are much faded and the inscriptions generally illegible (the names of Numicus, a river-god, and of the city Alba can be read). The battles between the Trojan settlers and the

native Latins are depicted at length ; also the building of two cities, Lavinium and Alba.

By the entrance-wall is a sarcophagus recently discovered which seems from its style to date from the middle of the second century A.D. at earliest, and represents a youthful Roman in heroic nudity receiving the submission of barbarians, who seem to be either Dacians or Orientals. Possibly the man for whom the sarcophagus was made had served with Trajan in his youth. Opposite is an unfinished sarcophagus with Bacchic figures roughly blocked out, and in the centre of the room a marble vase with reliefs representing the ceremonies of initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries. In the centre sits the neophyte veiled, whilst a woman holds the symbolic winnowing-fan over his head. To the L. a pig is sacrificed and placed in a well-head ; to the R. we see the goddesses of Eleusis, Demeter and Persephone, holding torches, and in front of them a youthful figure clad in a fawn-skin and holding a club, who can hardly be other than Heracles. Some details in these reliefs—especially the ears of corn on the head of Demeter—point to Alexandria, where mysteries imitated from those of Eleusis were celebrated.

In the last room is a good copy of the famous **discobolus of Myron**, found in a villa belonging to the King of Italy, not far from Ostia. Beside it has been placed a cast in which the head is taken from the only extant copy in which it is preserved—that in the Palazzo Lancelotti, which is never shown to visitors. This statue was the masterpiece of early athletic sculpture, and one of the most daring flights of the Greek genius. Myron worked between the Persian wars and the middle of the fifth century, and was not content to repeat the conventional poses of athletic portrait statues. He chose the critical moment of rest which precedes the throw of the discus, when every muscle of the frame is at full tension, ready for the rhythmical swing which will accompany the downward sweep of the R. arm. The copy before us is an excellent specimen of painstaking Roman work, which, if it cannot give us the

freshness and life of the original, is rich in anatomical detail. Think away the marble supports and *puntelli* which were absent in the bronze original.

We must now return to the top of the staircase and pass on, leaving it on our R. In the suite of rooms in front of us are cases containing a treasure of gold ornaments, weapons, and other objects from a Lombard cemetery near Ascoli on the E. of Italy, as well as material of the same period from Nocera in Umbria. They illustrate the barbaric art of the Dark Ages, drawing inspiration from antique models. In the last room note a hoard of English coins of Alfred the Great and other Saxon kings, sent to Rome as "Peter's-pence" and buried in the House of the Vestals.

In the suite of rooms on the R. is a collection of miscellaneous antiquities intended to illustrate the life of the ancient Romans. By the walls on the R. are a series of female portrait-heads illustrating the successive styles of hairdressing which were in fashion under the Empire. In the wall cases of the first and third rooms are a number of terra-cotta models of human limbs and animals dedicated as votive offerings in a temple of the gods of healing. In the centre cases are small bronzes, terra-cottas, glass vessels, etc. ; notice in the third room (16 on plan) the lid of a casket from Palestrina like the *Ficoroni cista* (p. 180). There are also many fragments of terra-cotta reliefs similar to those in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 148) and Museo Kircheriano (p. 179) ; notice the Egyptian scene, of which we have already seen examples. Other terra-cottas, such as the group of a **Satyr and Mænad**, and the frieze in the last room but one from Palestrina, are **archaic** in style and were used in the decoration of temples. In the last room are exhibited remains of the Floating Villas in the form of ships found in the Lake of Nemi and built to the order of Caligula. The timbers of these ships were encased in bronze and adorned at the extremities with heads of lions, Medusa, etc.

After leaving the Museo delle Terme, we may visit the remains of the **Servian wall** in the goods station : as to these see p. 355. The wall ran hence almost due S., and the region outside it was a vast cemetery in Republican times. The bodies of the poor and the slaves were cast into trenches (*puticuli*), some traces of which have been discovered, and the nuisance and danger to health became so intolerable that Mæcenas reclaimed the whole district and laid out his park—the Gardens of Mæcenas already mentioned (p. 142)—on the site. In these was the tower from which Nero witnessed the burning of Rome.

If we proceed past S. Maria Maggiore, take the Via Carlo Alberto, and turn to the R. just before reaching the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, we shall see another landmark in the course of the Servian wall—the **Arch of Gallienus**, which bears an inscription showing that it was set up in A.D. 262 in honour of that unworthy Emperor by one Aurelius Victor, prefect of the city. It took the place of the **Esquiline Gate** in the old line of wall, and originally had three bays, of which the central one and traces of that on the E. now remain.

The region lying outside the Servian *enceinte* on the E. was almost entirely covered with parks and palaces under the Empire. The remains of antiquity are here few and scattered. Near the northern angle of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele are the ruins of a lofty structure of brick, which is popularly known as the *Trofei di Mario*, because the so-called **Trophies of Marius**, now on the balustrade of the Piazza del Campidoglio (p. 103) were found there. The building was a monumental fountain, and was probably set up by Domitian : the absence of dated stamps on its bricks is in favour of an early date, and we could in any case hardly identify it with a famous fountain erected in this quarter by Severus Alexander, since it stands too high to be fed by the aqueduct which he built.

Taking the Via Principe Eugenio, which starts from the western angle of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, and then the Via di Porta Maggiore which continues it, we may turn

to the L. by the Via Pietro Micca and reach the building commonly called the **Temple of Minerva Medica**. The name was given to it in the seventeenth century because it was wrongly believed that the Athena Giustiniani (p. 329) was found there. It really formed part of a suite of baths belonging to one of the parks in this region—most probably the *horti Liciniani*, which were the property of the Emperor Gallienus. The style of the building, especially the ingenious construction of the cupola over a chamber of decagonal plan, with its system of ribs in the shape of brick arches, by which its stability is assured and its weight distributed, points to the time of Gallienus (A.D. 250-68). Notice, however, that the semicircular side chambers, of which a few courses are still standing, are about half a century later in date. They are built in so-called *opus mixtum*, with alternate courses of brick and tufa, and seem to have been added in order to buttress the central hall. The marble pavement, and traces of the pipes by which water was laid on, have recently been laid bare in places.

From here it is but a few steps to the **Porta Maggiore**. This region was occupied in the Augustan period by tombs and *columbaria*, amongst others that of the Statilii, from which were taken the historical wall paintings which we saw in the Museo delle Terme (p. 218). Most of these were buried under fifteen or twenty feet of earth when the parks of the Later Empire were laid out.

The *Porta Maggiore*, which was the *Porta Prænestina* of the walls of Aurelian (p. 359), is formed by two broad arches of the great double aqueduct built by Claudius in A.D. 52. It has three small gateways (closed) in the piers, which are decorated with engaged Corinthian columns (notice the "rusticated" masonry) carrying an entablature and pediments.

[This spot, which was called by the Romans *ad Spem veterem* from an ancient Temple of Hope, was the meeting-place of the greater part of the **aqueducts** which supplied Rome with water. The earliest of these was the *Aqua Appia*, the work of the blind censor of 312 B.C., Appius

Claudius, who is more famous as the builder of the Appian Way. Its channel was almost entirely subterranean, except where it crossed the valley between the Cælian and the Lesser Aventine; it has been brought to light by excavation at various points. The supply came from the Anio valley, about seven miles from Rome. Forty years afterwards, a second aqueduct, the *Anio Vetus*, was built, tapping the Anio about ten miles *above* Tibur (Tivoli), and therefore between forty and fifty miles long. As the *Aqua Appia* supplied the Cælian and Aventine, so the *Anio Vetus* supplied the Esquiline; but the water was not of good quality, and came in time to be used only for gardens and drains. The channel of the *Anio Vetus* was carried on an embankment for some distance outside the *Porta Maggiore*, but for the rest of its course ran underground.

In 144 B.C. the prætor, Q. Marcius Rex, built a third aqueduct, the *Aqua Marcia*, starting from the Sabine hills on the R. bank of the Anio. The latter part of its course was practically the same as that of the *Anio Vetus*, but as it was at a much higher level it could supply even the Capitol with water, and after being doubled in volume by Augustus, who tapped fresh sources, it was extended by later emperors, such as Caracalla, who conveyed its waters by a special branch to his Baths; and Diocletian, who did likewise.

Soon afterwards, in 125 B.C., a fresh source of supply was found in the Alban hills, and an aqueduct called from the relatively high temperature of its water the *Aqua Tepula*, was built. Agrippa, who restored the Republican aqueducts and built a new one, the *Aqua Virgo*, for the use of his own Baths (we have already seen its remains, p. 182), tapped fresh springs nearer to Rocca di Papa, and carried the water to Rome, together with that of the *Aqua Tepula*, under the name of *Aqua Julia*.

Lastly, Claudius gave to Rome two aqueducts whose arches are among the unforgettable features of the Campagna. The *Aqua Claudia* was drawn from springs near those of the Marcia, the *Anio Novus* from the river Anio a

little below Subiaco; the two were carried on the same arches as they approached Rome, but the channel or *specus* of the *Anio Novus* was above that of the *Aqua Claudia*. The water of the first named was muddy and undrinkable after rains, and Trajan improved its quality by placing the intake higher up the valley in order to use the three artificial lakes of Nero's villa at Subiaco as filtering tanks.]

All the aqueducts named in the above paragraphs (except the *Aqua Virgo*, which crossed the Pincian) entered Rome by or near the Porta Maggiore, and if we go outside the gate we shall see the remains of several at the angle of the wall of Aurelian. The *Anio Novus* and *Aqua Claudia* are incorporated in the wall itself; they are crossed at right angles by three channels, that of the *Marcia* being the lowest, the *Tepula* next, and the *Julia* highest. The channel of the *Anio Vetus* is at the ground level, while the *Appia* is buried. (The modern *Aqua Felice*, called after Felice Peretti, who became Pope as Sixtus V, also enters Rome here. It is drawn from springs near Colonna and dates from 1587.) The triple aqueduct of the *Marcia*, *Tepula*, and *Julia* runs to the N.W. along the wall of Aurelian and was incorporated in the defences by his architects. At the Porta San Lorenzo the *Julia* branches off; it fed the fountain described above under the name of *Trofei di Mario*. The *Claudia* and *Anio Novus* were carried to a distributing station on the Esquiline, but a branch running S.W. was built by Nero on brick arches. We can see its remains between the Porta Maggiore and the Lateran (especially in the Villa Wolkonsky) and shall meet with them again on the Cælian and in the valley between that hill and the Palatine, to which the aqueduct was continued by Domitian.

On the Porta Maggiore we can read, above the original inscription of Claudius, those of Vespasian and Titus, which record the restorations already made necessary, probably by defects in the original structure, from the building of which handsome profits were doubtless made by the freedmen of

Claudius in the shape of blackmail levied on the contractors.

Just outside the gate, where two roads diverge—the Via Prænestina, leading to Palestrina, and the Via Labicana, by which Tusculum could be reached—is an interesting **tomb**, that of the baker M. Vergilius Eurysaces, built in the first century B.C. It was concealed for many years by a tower flanking the Porta Maggiore, which was pulled down in 1838. It is built of concrete faced with travertine, and is not quite square in shape. Its decoration consists in rows of stone cylinders, representing measures of grain, and above them a frieze with reliefs showing the processes of bread-making.

It is but a short distance from the Porta Maggiore to the church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Close by this church, on the N.E., are the ruins of a fine hall with an apse or *exedra*, and many other remains have been found both within and without the wall of Aurelian, which show that a palace existed on this spot before that wall was built. It has been identified as the **Sessorium**, one of whose halls was converted by Constantine the Great into the church of S. Croce (ruthlessly modernised in 1742) in order to house the True Cross discovered by his mother Helena. (Considerable remains of the “Baths of Helena” once existed in the Vigna Conti to the E. of the Via di S. Croce, and a large reservoir by which they were supplied may still be seen.)

On the other side of S. Croce are the ruins of an **Amphitheatre** which has been utilised as part of the fortifications of Aurelian. It was once three storeys high, but little is now left of it except the outer wall of the lower story, a fine specimen of Imperial brickwork, which it is difficult to date. The arcades, separated by Corinthian columns carrying a cornice, were of course originally open. There can be no doubt that this is the *Amphitheatrum castrense* or “Court Amphitheatre”—the Imperial residence was technically called the “camp”—mentioned in ancient authorities.

The Via di Santa Croce takes us back to the Piazza

Vittorio Emanuele, and the Via Leopardi leads thence to the Via Merulana, a broad street connecting S. Maria Maggiore with the Lateran, but not quite coinciding with the ancient road of the same name. Here we find a building which bears the name of the **Auditorium of Mæcenas**, given to it when it was discovered in 1874 because it was thought to be a lecture-hall in the Gardens of Mæcenas (which in point of fact were somewhat farther to the north). It is a room with an apse or *exedra* at one end, in which are seven stages like the tiers of seats in a theatre. It has been suggested that these were meant for flower-pots, and that the building was a greenhouse. Certainly the wall-paintings (now much faded) are intended to create the illusion of a **garden** or park, just as in the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta and the remains of the Domus Publica (p. 74). The building is a very good example of *opus reticulatum* (p. 16) as used under the Early Empire with brick-shaped blocks of tufa at the angles of walls.

Fragments of the Servian wall are to be seen to the S. of the "Auditorium."

[The Palazzo Brancaccio-Field, on the opposite side of the Via Merulana, stands on the neck of land connecting the spur called the **Oppius** with the plateau of the Esquiline. From this point the Via Giovanni Lanza runs down the dip between the Oppius and a more northerly spur, the **Cispus**, and joins the Via Cavour in the valley of the **Subura**. The Via Urbana (parallel with the upper part of the Via Cavour) corresponds nearly to the ancient *Vicus Patricius*, which ran up the narrow valley between the Cispus and the **Viminal**. A very early cemetery (of about the same date as that adjoining the Sacred Way, p. 76) existed *within* the line of the Servian wall, near S. Martino di Monti, and tombs of later date, with imported Greek vases, etc., have been found *outside* the Porta Esquilina.

The Oppius was almost entirely included in the **Golden House of Nero**. Even before the fire of A.D. 64 he had built the *Domus transitoria*, which connected the Imperial residence on the Palatine with the Gardens of Mæcenas, and

when this was destroyed he set about rebuilding on a scale of unsurpassed magnificence. He did not live to see his plan fully carried out, and Otho spent large sums on the work ; but the Flavian emperors destroyed most of the buildings in order to gain popularity. Titus built his Baths on the edge of the Oppius, and Trajan, after a fire in A.D. 104 which worked havoc in this region, built his own Thermæ on the parts of the Golden House which the flames had spared.]

The remains of the Imperial buildings are chiefly to be seen in two places. Behind the Palazzo Brancaccio-Field is a large reservoir consisting of nine parallel vaulted chambers (beneath which is said to be a lower story) called the *Sette Sale*, which is not as a rule accessible ; and if, on leaving the Auditorium of Mæcenæ, we take the Via di Mecenatæ (which passes close by the reservoir), we reach the Via Labicana at the foot of the hill. Here, on the R., is the entrance to the remains popularly known as the *Terme di Tito*. What we see here are the foundations of a great semicircular *exedra* like that of the Baths of Diocletian (p. 198) which projected from the S.W. front of the **Baths of Trajan**. These foundations consist partly of a series of parallel walls running from S.W. to N.E. in the direction of the shorter axis of Trajan's enclosure, and partly of a number of rooms which belonged to the **Golden House of Nero** ; This later was set at quite a different angle, facing nearly due S. The most interesting feature of these remains is a suite of seven rooms divided by partitions into two halves facing N. and S. (to the N. was an open court or garden intersected by the foundation-walls of Trajan's Baths). The **frescoes** on the walls and vaults, though sadly faded, still give some idea of the elegance of the ancient decorations. Unfortunately the rooms beyond this suite, which were much more richly decorated—one in particular had a roof adorned with paintings framed in mouldings of gilded stucco, called the "Golden Vault"—have long been reburied. When first discovered in the fifteenth century, these wall-paintings inspired Raphael and his fellow artists, and the Loggie of the

Vatican show manifest traces of their influence. The Laocoon (p. 300) was not, as is often said, found here, but farther to the N., near the Sette Sale. Pliny tells us that it stood "in the house of the Emperor Titus," which may have been a part of Nero's palace.

XI

THE CÆLIAN AND AVENTINE

[THE two southernmost hills of Rome, which (with their adjoining valleys) are described in this chapter, differ widely in character and history. The **Cælian** is a long, narrow spur which juts out from the eastern plateau and ends in the height facing the Palatine on the S.E. It seems to have been partly included in the *Septimontium*, and its western part lay within the Servian line of defence. It was thickly inhabited under the Later Republic, but was devastated by a fire in A.D. 27, and afterwards became a fashionable quarter, covered with the palaces of the new aristocracy, who were now excluded from the Palatine by the extension of the Imperial palaces.

The **Aventine** proper is a hill of much the same shape and character as the Palatine, separated from it by a narrow valley, and overlooking the Tiber with its sheer cliffs on the northern side. Separated from it by a narrow depression is a more southerly height (crowned by the church of S. Saba) which is popularly called the **Lesser Aventine**. Part of it, which faces the W. extremity of the Cælian, was included in the Servian defences, but it contained no buildings of great importance, and played no part in the history of the city. The Aventine itself was not included within the sacred boundary of the *pomerium* until the reign of Claudius. Tradition has it that it remained unoccupied (except by temples¹) and for the most part wooded until in 456 B.C. it was parcelled out in lots among the

¹ The most important of these was the Temple of Diana, a federal sanctuary of the early Latin League.

plebeians ; and it retained throughout the history of the Republic the character thus given to it. Under the Empire it gradually changed its aspect, and, like the Cælian, became the resort of the aristocracy to whom the Palatine was no longer open as a place of residence.

In the valley between the Aventine and Cælian the two main roads from Rome to the S.—the Via Latina and Via Appia—had their starting point. The old city gate—*Porta Capena*—was near the S. angle of the Palatine, and a suburb grew up about the two roads (which diverged at some distance from the gate). They were flanked with tombs, temples, and *columbaria*. On the right the great Baths of Caracalla were built against the slope of the Lesser Aventine. All this region is to be thoroughly explored and converted into a *zona monumentale* for the preservation of ancient remains. Between the Aventine and the Palatine was the Circus Maximus, which dates from very early times and became one of the most magnificent buildings in Rome ; and between this and the river was the *Forum Boarium*, or cattle market, surrounded by sanctuaries which have not wholly perished.

To the W. of the Aventine the low-lying ground by the river was covered with docks and warehouses ; a visible memorial of the trade which passed through this quarter under the Empire may be seen in the “Monte Testaccio” (p. 263).]

We take as our starting-point the **Piazza of the Lateran**, which is easily reached by tram from any part of Rome. Here the Cælian may be said to begin, although the line which divides it from the Esquiline is hard to trace. (It has been supposed, without definite reason, that there was a depression between the Cælian and Esquiline which was artificially filled.) The Lateran takes its name from the family of the Laterani, to one of whom (consul in A.D. 197) Septimius Severus presented a palace on this site. By the time of Constantine it had reverted to the Emperors, and he bestowed it on the Church ; remains of its walls have been discovered under the Basilica of S. Giovanni.

It was the residence of the Popes throughout the Middle Ages.

In the modern palace is the **Museum of the Lateran**, formed in 1844 by Gregory XVI to house the overflow of the Vatican collections. The Christian Museum, on the upper floor, is described in *Christian Rome*, page 53 ff. The **Museo Profano** is on the ground floor, and the rooms are numbered continuously, beginning at the S.W. corner (the farthest to the L. from the entrance).

In Room I notice on the floor part of a **mosaic pavement**, the remainder of which may be seen on the upper floor. It was found in the Baths of Caracalla, but dates from the fourth century, and represents athletes, trainers, and implements used in the gymnasium. The figures on the fragment in this room are boxers.

On the entrance wall to L. are some interesting reliefs. 8 represents Helen about to step into the ship of Paris; it may be Greek work, but is badly weathered. 10 is a late Greek grave-relief. The dead man is portrayed as a hero, with his horse by his side and his shield and sword hanging to the L. He is taking leave of his young wife. The serpent coiled about the bay tree is a constant adjunct of the tomb in Greek art, and was believed to embody the spirit of the deceased. 11 is a curious relief, partly severe, almost archaic in style, yet with late elements such as the landscape background. It may represent the child Asclepios (the god of healing) found by the hero Antolaos in the mountains of Arcadia. Notice the holes in the horn and drinking-cup which show that it was used as a fountain.

On the L. wall is (13) a fine fragment of relief with **two boxers**, which was drawn (with restorations) by Raphael; it would seem to be of the time of Trajan, but there is no ground for thinking that it came from his Forum.

20 is the lower half of the relief of which we saw the upper portion in the Museo delle Terme (p. 217). It was supposed to have come from Trajan's Forum, and Thorwaldsen therefore restored the figure of the Emperor with a head of Trajan; but if the temple in the background be that

of Venus and Rome, the relief must be at least as late as Hadrian's reign. The Emperor, whoever he is, is attended by his lictors (notice the *fascēs*, or bundles of rods) and is taking part in some public ceremony in front of the temple. It is far from certain that the relief came from Trajan's Forum.

In 26 we have a good example of the "landscape reliefs" which were used, apparently in Hellenistic times, and certainly from the Augustan period onwards, for the decoration of walls or fountains—in this case there is an opening for a jet of water in the horn out of which the satyr-child is drinking. The child's figure—turned in the opposite direction—is exactly repeated in a fragment in the Galleria dei Candelabri (p. 337), which is of far better workmanship and was found on the Palatine. This shows that the composition was a well-known one. Notice the interest shown by the artist in animal life (bird's nest threatened by snake, eagle devouring hare, goats browsing).

On the wall facing the entrance is (34) a grave-relief representing the **chariot races** of the **circus** with much interesting detail.

By the exit-wall are some interesting torsos ; notice 46, a replica of the fifth-century figure copied by Stephanus, who has already been mentioned. (The statue by Stephanus is in the Villa Albani.)

In Room II are a large number of **architectural fragments**, from which we can get a good impression of the characteristic features of Roman ornament. Notice especially 86 and 168, two fragments of a frieze which complete each other : it represented Erotes pouring out wine for Griffins. These came from the Forum of Trajan, as did also (160) the frieze with acanthus ornament. This latter affords an excellent illustration of what was said on p. 26 as to the over-elaboration by the Romans of the simpler vegetable motives used by the Greeks. Where the Greek artist would have shown a plain stem and allowed the graceful curve to speak for itself, the Roman enwrapped it with rich acanthus foliage, practically annihilating the background and giving the eye no place of repose.

In Room III, by the R. wall, is (256) a statue of **Antinous**, the favourite of Hadrian (p. 279), represented as Vertumnus, a god of the seasons, holding the fruits of the earth in his lap. The head is restored, but rightly so, since Antinous can be recognised by the very individual conformation of the chest. 258 is a small (child's) sarcophagus with scenes from the gymnasium.

In room IV, to the R., is (278) a very fine Greek relief, which represents **Medea** and the **daughters of Pelias**. Medea persuaded them that they could restore their father's youth by cutting him in pieces and boiling his limbs with magical herbs. The preparations for this horrible deed are here represented with the subtle self-restraint of fifth-century Greek art. To the L. is the sorceress, with an Oriental head-dress and sleeved tunic, holding a box of herbs, and on the R. is the finely conceived figure of a daughter of Pelias, whose uneasy conscience is betrayed by her gestures. We saw a fragmentary relief of this class in the Museo delle Terme; and there is a famous one in the Villa Albani which represents Orpheus, Hermes, and Eurydice. These monuments all belong to the middle of the fifth century B.C.: they all represent *three* figures only, and they breathe the spirit of Attic tragedy. Probably they were votive offerings set up by tragic poets in commemoration of their victories in dramatic contests.

291 is a good specimen of the Imperial statues of the Julio-Claudian period. It was found at Veii, and is a portrait either of Drusus the 'Elder (brother of Tiberius) or of his son Germanicus—most probably the former.

By the exit-wall is a statue (319) restored with a head of Mars, a portrait-bust (352) of some prince of the Claudian house, a poor replica (348) of the "Marble Faun," and (356, on a bracket) a good copy of the head of the athlete of Stephanus (p. 232).

Room V contains some animal subjects—a cow (406) and a stag (399) in basalt, upon which a figure of Artemis was once seated. 396 and 405 (by the back wall) are herms with slender shafts representing **Pan** and his female counter-

part, **Panisca**, or perhaps rather two Italian divinities, **Faunus** and **Fauna**, embodied in forms derived from Greek art.

Notice in the centre (391) the group of **Mithras slaying the bull**. The religion of Mithras was of Persian origin : Mithras was the God of Celestial Light who led his worshippers to victory in the secular struggle with the powers of darkness. His worship became immensely popular, especially amongst the soldiers and the lower classes of society, who were admitted to its mysteries, in the second century A.D., and was in fact at one time a serious rival to Christianity. In each of the chapels in which its rites were celebrated the place of the altar in a Christian church was taken by such a group as that before us, representing the act from which the order of creation sprang—for the slaying of the bull fertilised the earth and caused it to bring forth its abundant harvests, in spite of the machinations of the Evil One (Ahriman), here represented under the form of a scorpion. The group of Mithras and the bull is borrowed from that of **Victory** sacrificing an ox so common in Greek art.

Notice also the ash-chest (407) with the figures of boys with fighting-cocks. The fight is over, and one of the boys is carrying away the body of the slain cock in tears. Notice that the name of the person whose ashes were contained in the chest has not been filled in.

In Room VI are a number of sculptures found at Cervetri, the ancient Cære, on the site of the theatre. They are good examples of the conventional style of Imperial portraiture under the first dynasty. 428 is a head of Augustus, 435 and 437 seated statues of Tiberius and Claudius wearing the oak-wreath or *corona civica*, 433 and 439 figures of Imperial personages in full armour, conceived as haranguing their troops. 433 has a restored plaster head, 439 may be Drusus the Elder or Germanicus (see p. 233). 436 is a princess of the Claudian house—perhaps Octavia, the daughter of Claudius ; while 445 may have represented Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, as an inscription bearing her name was

found with it, but the head (an ideal type) does not belong to the statue. The statue in the *toga* (438) and bust (444) cannot be identified.

442 is an interesting relief adorned with personifications of the chief cities of Etruria: it was a common practice of Roman artists to translate statues in the round into relief, as is here done. The names of the cities are inscribed on the pedestals—to L. Vetulonia, a young man standing beside a pine-tree and holding a rudder, then Volci, a seated female figure holding a bird in her R. hand, finally Tarquinii, a man in the garb of a sacrificing priest. Perhaps the fragment belonged to the base of the statue of Claudius, who wrote a history of the Etruscan league in Greek.

The altar (448) was dedicated to a local magnate of Cære, Gaius Manlius, by his clients. It resembles the altar of the *Vicomagistri* in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 138) in having a scene of sacrifice (carefully rendered in detail) on the front and figures of Læres at the sides. On the back we see enthroned the goddess to whom the sacrifice was offered—the Fortune of Cære amidst her worshippers.

Room VII contains the two most important statues in the museum. 462 is a copy of the famous **Marsyas** of **Myron**, whose discobolus we saw in the Museo delle Terme (p. 219). As already explained (p. 143), the legend told how the Satyr picked up the flute which Athena had thrown away; and an Attic vase-painting shows Marsyas starting back in astonishment at Athena's actions in much the same attitude as that in which he is here represented. The castanets are due to the modern restorer, and we must remember that for the bronze original, which was lightly poised upon the toes, supports were not needed. We see how in this case, as in that of the discobolus, Myron chose his subject in order to display the consummate skill with which he could depict the human body at full tension in an attitude which could only be maintained for a brief moment: we can also understand the remark of the ancient critics that his heads were lacking in expression.

The statue of **Sophocles** (476) has been supposed to be a

Greek original, but is rather a copy in marble from the bronze set up about 340 B.C. in the theatre at Athens. In the Room of the Philosophers (p. 117) we saw examples of the type of Sophocles belonging to the poet's lifetime; here we have a free rendering in the style of a later age. It has well been said that the statue "bears the character of a public monument"; and we must think of it as grouped with figures of Æschylus and Euripides; one of these may be represented by a statue in the Braccio Nuovo (p. 326). It would be waste of words to praise or analyse the simple yet perfectly adequate conception of the poet who "saw life steadily and saw it whole."

Passing into Room VIII we see immediately to the L. of the entrance a highly finished relief (487) of a **comic poet** in his study examining a mask: two other masks and a scroll—doubtless containing the text of the play to which they belong—lie on the table in front of him. The masks are those of the typical characters of the New Comedy—the young man, the girl, and the elderly father; and the seated figure is in all probability **Menander**. The female figure seems to be ideal in type, and therefore to represent a **Muse**. The workmanship is good, and may date from Hellenistic times.

In the centre of the room is (534) a statue of **Poseidon** (Neptune) found at Porto, near Ostia, where Claudius built a fresh harbour for Rome. It is a Roman adaptation of a Greek type belonging to the school of Lysippus.

Notice at the back of the room two fragments (502 and 515) of high relief with heads—one bearded, probably a lictor, the other beardless, of aristocratic features. These must have belonged to some important monument, perhaps a triumphal arch of Domitian; for the excellence of the work points to the Flavian period.

In Room IX we find more architectural fragments: notice especially a pilaster (near the exit) decorated with vine leaves, deeply undercut: figures of Erotes (now cut away) were clambering among them and plucking the grapes. It is a good example of *later* Roman ornament—

the logical development of the principle explained on page 232. 582 is a fine altar of Flavian date, showing the same enrichment of architectural members which we noticed in the cornice of the Temple of Vespasian (p. 149). By the entrance wall are some heads of lictors belonging to a processional frieze which, in spite of their small scale, are skilfully executed, and may have belonged to the same monument as the larger fragments in the previous room.

In the centre of this room is a triangular pedestal, upon which are carved Nymphs and Satyrs. The design is eminently graceful, and may have been directly copied from a pedestal supporting one of the tripods dedicated at Athens by victorious dramatic poets in the "Street of Tripods." It was found in the Forum.

Most of the sculptures in Room IX come from the family tomb of the Haterii on the Via Labicana (about three miles from Porta Maggiore). They vary greatly in artistic merit, and are doubtless not all of one period. Three of them are interesting on account of their subjects, and the detail with which these are rendered. 690 (opposite the window) shows the corpse lying in state (the *collocatio*) on the *lectus funebris*. At the foot are the tablets containing the will of the dead person. Behind the bed are hired mourners (*præficae*), and in front of it is a flute-player. The mourners wearing caps are thereby shown to be slaves set free by the will.

719, by the exit-wall, is of great topographical importance since it represents part of the Sacred Way, by which the funeral procession left the Forum after the delivery of the oration (*laudatio*). Unfortunately it is not quite easy to identify the spot from which the view is taken. We see (L. to R.) a temple of Jupiter (i.e. Jupiter Stator, p. 82), an arch with an inscription which calls it the "arch at the top of the Sacred Way" (i.e. that of Titus), with Roma seated in the archway; a second arch, with a figure of the Great Mother, the Colosseum (much abbreviated), and a third arch described by an inscription as standing "beside the temple of Isis" (which was between the Colosseum and the Lateran). A third relief, 676, represents the family tomb, a

building in the form of a temple, like so many of those which we see beside the Appian Way. To the L. is a huge crane with a tread-wheel, the significance of which it is hard to understand.

By the entrance are two busts (675 and 677) enclosed in small shrines, which reproduce the forms of those in which the waxen busts of ancestors were kept in Roman houses. These are shown by their shape to date from the close of the first century, and are good examples of the art of that time—the best period of Roman portraiture; the snake coiled about the male bust has been thought to indicate that the man was a physician, but it may merely possess the significance which belonged to it in Greek religion as a symbol of the departed soul.

A slab in high relief with busts of divinities of the lower world (721, by the exit-wall)—they represent Mercury, Proserpine, Pluto, and Ceres, to give them their Roman names—is of later date. The best work is seen in the beautiful slabs (686) beside the farther doorway, decorated in relief with candelabra entwined with roses in an exquisitely graceful pattern—not strictly naturalistic, for the flowers have only four petals, but producing the illusion of reality which an “impressionistic” treatment gives. These we can scarcely put later than the Flavian period. Compare them with the panel (722) decorated with branches of quince and lemon laden with fruit, and notice the skilful “impressionistic” rendering of the rough skin of the lemons.

Crossing a passage we enter Room XI, where are some interesting sarcophagi from tombs on the Via Latina. Three were found in a chamber decorated with fine paintings and stuccoes, which are still to be seen. The subjects are, to R. (751) Dionysus and Ariadne in chariots driven by Centaurs with Erotes as postilions; by the back wall (769) three scenes from the story of Adonis—his farewell to Aphrodite on the L., the tending of his wound in the centre, and the hunting of the boar on the R.—and on the lid of the sarcophagus, which does not belong to it, scenes from the story of Œdipus; lastly, by the exit wall (777), Phædra

and Hippolytus. (Notice the group of Eros and Psyche, which symbolises the passion of Phædra.)

In the centre of the room is (792) a large sarcophagus representing the triumphal home-coming of Dionysus, whose car is drawn by elephants, after his conquest of India.

Notice by the exit-wall (783) a Greek votive relief; the figure of the youth in the centre is that of the dedicator, who is of smaller dimensions than the heroes, who are the objects of his worship.

In Room XII are three sarcophagi found in a tomb dated in the reign of Hadrian. By the entrance-wall is (799) one with scenes from the legend of Orestes: they are partly the same as those represented on a sarcophagus in the Galleria dei Candelabri—a good illustration of the conventional *répertoire* used by the sculptors of sarcophagi. 806 (by the back wall) has only decorative subjects: notice the boys riding races on various animals on the lid. 813 (by the exit-wall) shows the destruction of the children of Niobe by Apollo and Artemis: the composition is pictorial in character and motives, and may have been derived from a Hellenistic painting. Notice 808, a head of Augustus found at Veii (compare that from Cervetri in Room VI), and the circular base (also from Veii) in the centre of the room, decorated with festoons, lyres, and the four attributes of Vulcan—anvil, hammer, tongs, and cap. It was copied from a monument in the Forum called the Puteal Libonis, which stood near the Temple of Castor and is represented on the coins of Scribonius Libo, from whom it took its name.

In Room XIII, by the entrance-wall, we see a grave-relief which represents a lady reclining on a couch: her hair is dressed in the peculiar "toupet" style characteristic of the Flavian period (cf. p. 113); her name, however, is Ulpia Erigone, which points to a later date, since Ulpian was the family name of Trajan, and was taken by persons on whom he had bestowed citizenship. The explanation is that an earlier inscription was erased, and the relief used a second time. 842 is a fragment of a frieze representing the battle between the Olympic gods and the Titans, of which other

pieces exist in the Antiquarium (p. 254) and the Vatican (see p. 305, where they are discussed).

The portrait-statue 846 is interesting as a perfect example of the honorary statues of the later Empire. Notice, however, that the head and body are of different marbles (Parian and Luna); and that the workmanship of the body is too good for the date of the statue, which has had its original head replaced by that of C. Cælius Saturninus, an Imperial functionary of the time of Constantine. The word DOGMATHI on the plinth of the statue is not a personal name, but a "signum" borne by a group of persons forming a kind of club.

Beside the back wall are some fragments of porphyry statues, all of which save one (discovered under the apse of the Lateran basilica) are stated on doubtful authority to have been found by the Arch of Constantine. This costly material (most unsuitable for statuary) was used in late times, as we see from the sarcophagi in the Vatican.

By the exit-wall is a finely-conceived relief (868) which represents Pylades supporting his friend Orestes, who is sinking in exhaustion after a paroxysm of madness. The motive was originally invented for a group of the Niobids, in which one as yet unwounded caught his stricken brother in his arms.

In Room XIV notice an unfinished statue (902) of a barbarian similar in type to the Trajanic figures on the Arch of Constantine (p. 253). It shows the "points" left to guide the workman in reproducing his model. There is also an unfinished torso (909) in porphyry. Observe four circular slabs of *pavonazzetto* with inscriptions which show that the columns to which they belonged (now employed in the decoration of an altar in S. Andrea della Valle) were imported in A.D. 137 for the use of the Imperial building commissioners. They were found at the "Marmorata" (p. 264).

On the sarcophagus (895) with unfinished reliefs representing the operations of corn-growing and milling are two herms, one (898) of the young Dionysus (or Iacchos) in the style of Praxiteles, the other (896) resembling in feature

the Doryphoros of Polyclitus (p. 321), possibly an ideal type of Heracles by that sculptor.

On the floor are the remains of a mosaic pavement signed by a Greek artist, Heraclitus, but undoubtedly copied (or else adapted) from a well-known original at Pergamon by a certain Sosus. This was called the "**unswept room**," and we see the remains of a meal—oysters, shell-fish, vegetables, grapes, nuts, etc.—littered on the floor; notice the mouse gnawing at a nut. In the centre of the room was a mosaic (now destroyed) with a narrow edging of landscape in the Egyptian style. Such a mosaic-picture (of which the Doves of the Capitol (p. 108) furnish a good example) let into the centre of a pavement such as we see here was called an *emblema*.

The last two rooms contain sculptures, etc., found in excavations at Ostia carried on in 1861-9. In Room XV notice (972) a head of Attis, distinguished by the Phrygian cap from the type of the Sun-god which the artist has copied. It was found in the sanctuary of the Great Mother Cybele, in whose worship he played a conspicuous part. There is a reclining figure of Attis in the last room (1061), crowned with pine-cones, pomegranates, etc., and bearing other symbols which show him to be a "vegetation-god." In Room XV is a mosaic niche with a figure of Silvanus; notice the blue *nimbus*, which passed into Christian art.

In the last room are three wall-paintings from tombs found between Ostia and Laurentum. 1064 represents the parting of Orpheus and Eurydice, with the door of Hades to the L. guarded by a youthful watchman and the three-headed Cerberus, and on the R. Oknos weaving a rope, which an ass is constantly gnawing behind his back—a type of the fruitlessness of human effort, which Polygnotus had represented in his fresco of the Lower World at Delphi. 1065 shows Proserpine pursued by Pluto, 1063 a scene from the drama. 1043 is a bronze statuette of Aphrodite, who originally held a mirror in her L. hand and an instrument for laying on face-paint in her R.

Leaving the museum, we may notice in the piazza the **obelisk** of Thothmes III, brought to Rome by Constantius II in the fourth century to adorn the Circus Maximus, and transferred hither in the sixteenth ; it is the largest in the world.

We now take the Via di S. Stefano rotondo, which runs along the crest of the Cælian beside the arches of Nero's extension of the Claudian aqueduct. We soon reach the church of S. Stefano rotondo (*Christian Rome*, p. 222) which stands on the foundations of the central building (*tholus*) of the **Market** built by Nero in A.D. 59. The present structure is almost entirely a work of the fourth century A.D., converted to Christian uses in the fifth, but it was rebuilt on the old foundations : the coins of Nero show that it had two orders of columns and a cupola. The market was a square enclosure with stalls, in the centre of which this building stood ; that of Pompeii is similar in plan.

From this point three streets diverge, all on ancient lines of road. The Via della Navicella leads to the entrance of the Villa Mattei, which should be visited for the sake of its magnificent **view** of the Campagna ; the antiques which it contains are not of great importance. The obelisk which stands in its grounds was a conspicuous object on the Capitol—where the Museo Capitolino now stands—during the Middle Ages.

The Via di S. Giovanni e Paolo and the Via Claudia, which represent the ancient *Clivus Scauri* and *Vicus Capitis Africae*, skirts the northernmost spur of the Cælian, upon which stood the **Temple of Claudius**, built by his widow Agrippina, almost entirely destroyed by Nero, who enclosed the site in the Park of his Golden House, but restored by Vespasian. The Garden of the Passionists is almost exactly coextensive with the platform, partly carried on substructures, upon which the temple with its surrounding gardens¹ stood ; and in both the streets mentioned

¹ One would have expected to find the enclosure surrounded by a *porticus* or colonnade ; but the fragment of the Marble Plan which marks the temple does not show any trace of such a thing.

above we may see traces of the retaining walls. If we descend the Via di S. Giovanni e Paolo, passing the **Arch of Dolabella and Silanus**, consuls in A.D. 10, which was used first for the Marcian and afterwards for the Claudian aqueduct, we come to the church of those saints, under which are the remains of an ancient house, described in *Christian Rome*, p. 225 f.; and beneath the *campanile* of the church is a two-storeyed arcade of travertine with "rusticated" pilasters exactly like those of the Porta Maggiore—a fashion of the time of Claudius and Nero. If, on the other hand, we descend the Via Claudia, we see on our L. a series of square and semicircular niches in brickwork, due either to Nero or to Vespasian, which served as fountains.

The Via Claudia leads us to the valley between the Esquiline, Cælian, and Palatine, where Nero caused an artificial lake—the "Pool of Nero"—to be formed in the Park of the Golden House. Vespasian drained the lake, and began the construction of an amphitheatre on the site. It was not completed in his lifetime, but inaugurated by his son and successor, Titus, with games and shows lasting one hundred days, in A.D. 80: the decoration of the upper portion was finished by Domitian. The amphitheatre was the largest ever built, and owed to its enormous size the name—**Colosseum**—which it has borne at least since the eighth century: the proverbial saying,

While stands the Colosseum, Rome shall stand;
When falls the Colosseum, Rome shall fall;
And when Rome falls, with it shall fall the world,

is found in its Latin form in the writings of the Venerable Bede.

The Colosseum was struck by lightning and the upper galleries consumed by fire in A.D. 217, and it has suffered damage from earthquake at various times, especially in the fifth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries; probably the collapse of the western arcades was due to this cause. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, moreover it served as a quarry for building materials, when a New

Rome arose after the return of the Popes from Avignon. At length (after the building had been used as a manufactory for saltpetre) Benedict XIV consecrated it to the memory of the martyrs who had perished in the arena under the Empire, and the stations of the Cross which he had set up were only removed in 1874.

The amphitheatre was a type of building unknown to the Greeks, whose refined instinct shrank from the inhumanity of gladiatorial combats. These shows were popular among the Etruscans, and especially amongst the Oscans of Campania, from whom they were borrowed by the Romans ; and the first permanent buildings erected for their celebration were found in Campania. That of Pompeii is the earliest in date with which we are acquainted, and the lower parts of it are excavated in the ground, so that the seats rest on a mound of earth and the external elevation is low. The Colosseum, on the other hand, represents the triumph of Roman architecture in basing an elliptical structure on an ingeniously contrived system of vaults. Externally, we have a façade in four stories. In the three lowest of these we have the finest extant example of the characteristically Roman scheme of the Three Orders adorning the piers of a system of arcades : the fourth storey consists of a wall adorned with flat Corinthian pilasters and an entablature, and containing a row of windows, above which are brackets. In these were fixed masts carrying awnings for the protection of the spectators. The openings in the lowest arcade, eighty in number, served as entrances : the four at the extremities of the two axes are unnumbered, the rest bear the numbers I to LXXVI. Of the main entrances, those to the N. and S. were reserved for the State processions of the Emperor and high officials. They were richly decorated in stucco (once gilded and painted) and some traces of this are still to be seen on the N. side ; at the E. and W. extremities were the doors by which the gladiators marched into the arena in solemn procession. Observe on the N. side a series of travertine posts corresponding with the piers of the arcades and the centres of the

archways. They have holes for bronze rings on the side nearest the Colosseum, and thus (by means of chains) the crowd was shepherded into a number of narrow lanes to which admission was given by tickets corresponding with the number of each archway.

We enter the building by the second arch to the L. of the main W. entrance, and ascend to the first story, from which we overlook the arena, measuring 94 yards by 59. Every trace of the marble seats has long since disappeared and it is no longer easy to determine their number or arrangement, especially in the upper part of the building.

Next to the arena was the *podium*, a platform about 12 feet high, upon which were set three rows of marble thrones reserved for the Imperial family, high officials of state and corporations. Many inscriptions have been found relating to the distribution of seats, both on the *podium* and in the upper tiers (they may be seen in three rooms on the first story at the N. end of the shorter axis); we gather that for the first three centuries places were assigned to *classes* of persons (such as ex-consuls) or to priestly colleges (such as the Arval brotherhood); in the fourth century seats were permanently allotted to families or individuals. The measurements are given in *feet*, and this may explain the statement of ancient authorities that the amphitheatre contained 87,000 "places," which would be a gross exaggeration if it applied to the number of spectators. This can never have exceeded 50,000. Some of the marble chairs—imitated from those used in Greek theatres, such as that of Dionysus at Athens—are now used as thrones in Roman churches, e.g. S. Gregorio. The line of the *podium* was broken by the two balconies or boxes reserved for the Emperor and the magistrate presiding at the games; and it was approached by eight staircases from a passage lined with marble. This passage and the beginning of one of the staircases may be seen on the S. side. In order to prevent the wild beasts exhibited in the arena from scaling the *podium* a passage was left all round the arena, separated from it by a low wall carrying a bronze screen with a revolving

toprail. A number of recesses in the front wall of the *podium*, opening on to the passage, were doubtless occupied by guards.

Above the *podium* were the sloping tiers of seats which formed the *cavea*. The horizontal divisions—separated by gangways—were called *mæniana*, a word derived from the old galleries in the Forum, as to which see p. 44 ; and these were again divided into wedge-shaped sections (*cunei*) divided by staircases into which the *vomitoria*, or entrances from the outer corridors, opened. Thus each seat could be designated by the number of its *cuneus*, tier and place in the row. It will be seen that at about two-thirds of the height of the building there is a high wall with doors and windows. This divided the second *mænianum* from the third, which, we are told, rested on a wooden scaffolding (*in ligneis*). This has of course entirely disappeared, and thus we are reduced to conjecture as to the arrangement of the uppermost tiers ; but it seems fairly certain that a portico of Corinthian columns—several of whose capitals have been found—ran round the whole building just above this wall, and supported a roof which protected the third *mænianum*, reserved for women. On this roof there was standing room for some thousands of humbler spectators, called *pullati*, because they were not clad in the full-dress white *toga*, but in garments of darker material. Even above this there was a narrow ledge or gallery carried on arches projecting from travertine brackets ; upon this were stationed the sailors of the fleet who manipulated the awnings (*velaria*). It seems incredible that these awnings could have spanned so enormous an area as that covered by the Colosseum, which is nearly one-third of a mile in circumference ; moreover, the whole of the seats would never require shade at once, and it can therefore hardly be doubted that the *cunei* had separate awnings which were drawn as required.

Every traveller should ascend to the vaulted gallery in the fourth story, built in 1852, close to the N. wall, from which there is a magnificent view to the S. We can also examine the construction of the uppermost part of the outer

wall, which shows evident marks of haste (drums of columns, architectural fragments, etc., are built into it). It was no doubt largely restored after the fire of A.D. 217 ; it has indeed been thought that up to this time the superstructure was entirely of wood.

The staircases by which the ascent is made are almost entirely modern, and do not help us to picture the extremely ingenious arrangement by which, with the least possible expenditure of space, access was given to each tier of seats. We can, however, observe the economy of the Roman architects in their use of materials. The fabric of the Colosseum is built up on a skeleton consisting in the main of (*a*) three concentric elliptical walls pierced with arcades and enclosing vaulted corridors which run round the building, and (*b*) a system of radiating walls corresponding with the piers of the outer arcades, which carry the lower tiers of seats, and are pierced with openings forming inner corridors. In the interspaces between these radiating walls, roofed with sloping vaults, are disposed staircases leading to the corridors on the upper levels. If we examine the radiating walls we shall see that in the outer part, where the height and therefore the pressure is greatest, they are built of tufa, reinforced by piers or strips of travertine at intervals, but in the inner portion, where they are quite low and have no great weight to carry, as also in the uppermost parts, they are of concrete faced with brick. Moreover, the concrete varies in its composition according to the weight which it has to carry. In the foundations the filling consists of lumps of lava ; in the inner and lower parts of the radiating walls it is of broken tufa and brick ; in the vaults it is generally of pumice. The outer arcades are entirely built of travertine in large blocks, laid without mortar, but joined together with iron clamps : the unsightly holes with which the exterior of the building is disfigured were made in the Middle Ages in order to extract the clamps.

The arena rests on substructures of which a great part have now been excavated, so that we can form a good idea of their plan and the purpose which they served. It is

difficult, however, to distinguish those parts which belong to the original building from the restorations of the Later Empire. These, however, did not alter the original plan, which consisted in a series of elliptical walls forming corridors and enclosing an oval space divided into narrow passages by walls parallel with the major axis of the arena. The passages were roofed alternately with vaults and wooden floors; in these there were trap-doors through which, by means of lifts worked by windlasses, cages containing wild beasts, or platforms upon which scenery, actors, etc. stood, could be raised. The grooved frames of travertine in which the lifts ran are easily distinguished. All round the outermost oval corridor are recesses which seem to have served as dens for wild beasts: they have small windows opening into a passage (unexcavated) at the back by which the beasts were fed. Between each pair are the corbels in which the lower masts of the awnings were fixed.

The floor of the substructures is higher in the centre of the building than at the sides, where it is as much as twenty feet lower than the arena; this was in order to drain the surface water from the central corridors.¹ A wooden floor was discovered in 1874 in the central passage; but the original pavement seems to have been of *opus spicatum* (bricks laid in a herring-bone pattern).

There were four subterranean passages leading out of the building at the ends of the four axes. That to the E. is the one by which access is given to the substructures; it probably led to the *Ludus magnus*, or gladiators' training school, which was on the slope of the Esquiline. On the side towards the Cælian is another, which has been supposed to be that constructed by

¹ An elaborate system of drains exists beneath the substructures. The Colosseum was not used for sea-fights, for which a special building (*naumachia*) was reserved, so that it is a mistake to suppose that the subterranean corridors were used for flooding the arena. We hear, it is true, of a sea-fight at the *inauguration* of the Colosseum: but the building was not at that time complete.

Commodus for his private use when he exchanged the Palatine for a residence on the Cælian called the *Domus Vectiliana*.

We hear of a number of buildings connected with the shows of the Amphitheatre. Beside the training schools (*ludi*) for gladiators there were the *Armamentarium*, or armoury, the *Samiarium*, or workshop where arms were repaired, the *Summum Choragium*, a storehouse for stage properties, and the *Spoliarium*, to which the bodies of dead gladiators were removed. These must all have been near the Colosseum, but we cannot identify their position.

A little to the W. of the Colosseum is a conical brick structure which was once crowned by a fountain—the *Meta Sudans* set up by Domitian at the point where five of the “Regions” of Augustus met.

From this point the Sacred Way rises to the Arch of Titus : but the Forum excavations cannot be entered from this side. To the R. rises the platform (with vaulted substructures) upon which the Temple of Venus and Rome (p. 79) is built ; to the L. are remains of private houses (partly converted into what seems to be a Christian church) under the slope of the Palatine.

Between the Cælian and the Palatine ran the *Via Triumphalis*, along which the Triumphal processions passed, and at the angle where it joined the Sacred Way was erected the **Arch of Constantine** in celebration of his victory over Maxentius at Saxa Rubra, near the Milvian Bridge, in A.D. 312. This battle sealed the fate of Paganism ; for Constantine, inspired by the Vision of the Cross, fought as the champion of his newly-embraced faith, and staked his all upon the issue. Nevertheless, the Senate clung to the old religion, and could not bring itself to do more than record (in the lengthy inscription upon the Attic) that the vengeance exacted by Constantine from the “tyrant” (i.e. Maxentius) was “inspired by heaven” (*instinctu divinitatis*).

The main interest of this arch lies in its sculptured decoration. The age of Constantine could produce nothing worthy to be compared with the reliefs of the Arch of Titus,

only a few yards distant ; and earlier buildings were therefore plundered in order to make good the deficiency. First and foremost we notice the splendid reliefs on either side of the main passage, belonging to the **Great Frieze** which adorned Trajan's Forum. We have already met with other fragments of this work in the Villa Borghese (p. 191) and Villa Medici (p. 190) ; but those which we here see are much the finest. The *mêlée* in which the Emperor and his cavalry are charging with resistless force into the surging mass of Dacians is unsurpassed in its tumultuous vigour ; on the opposite slab we find a striking contrast between the cavalry charge and the scene in which the Emperor, crowned by Victory and escorted by Valour (*Virtus*), marches in front of his assembled troops. The same contrast is again to be observed on one of the slabs which adorn the narrow ends of the Attic—that on the W. side, where a group of Roman soldiers and Dacian captives interrupts the advance of the cavalry. Notice that the *horror vacui* of the Roman artist leads him to suppress the background, and to fill up the space, where necessary, with tiers of heads (as on the column of Trajan). In this faulty perspective we see the beginnings of a process which we have traced throughout the monumental sculpture of the second century.

Next we may observe the beautiful **circular medallions**, of which there are two above each of the side-bays. Let us take the N. façade first. Here we see, first, an Emperor hunting the wild boar, accompanied by two riders, then a sacrifice offered before a statue of Apollo standing on a high pedestal between bay-trees ; next, the Emperor with a companion, an attendant (bearded) and two grooms leading horses, standing over the body of a slaughtered lion ; finally a sacrifice offered to Heracles, whose statue (seated) is seen in the upper part of the medallion. In no case does the head of the Emperor belong to the original relief : but while in the first and third scenes **Constantine** is represented by a new head, in the second and fourth quite a different portrait has been produced by working over the

original head. This is probably **Claudius Gothicus** (Emperor A.D. 268-70), from whom Constantine claimed descent.

The medallions on the S. side represent, firstly, the Emperor and his friends going out to hunt; next, a sacrifice to Silvanus; then, a bear-hunt; lastly, a sacrifice to Artemis. Here the heads of the Emperor are unfortunately lost, except in the last instance, where the face has been so much damaged that we can only see that the Emperor was beardless. Thus we are forced to date the reliefs by their style and workmanship: and this is so excellent that we are constrained to put them in the Flavian period. Constantine, it will be remembered, bore the name Flavius; and he may have taken these reliefs from the Temple of the Flavian house built by Domitian on the Quirinal (p. 197). It has been thought that the medallions of the S. side are finer in execution and earlier in date than those on the N. But we cannot separate the two series: for just as the bear's head is fixed on the tree beside the altar of Artemis, so the spoils of the boar hang above the figure of Silvanus: and the companions of the Emperor on the medallions of the N. façade have the true Flavian physiognomy.

Now look at the eight **oblong panels** on the Attic. In every case the Emperor has the features of Constantine; but the heads are modern, probably not older than 1733, when the arch was restored by order of Clement XII. Originally Marcus Aurelius was represented, as can be seen when we compare these reliefs with three others belonging to the same set on the staircase of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 133). Unfortunately their original arrangement has been disturbed and is difficult to restore: but there seems little doubt that they fell into two groups, corresponding with the "German" and "Sarmatian" wars which, as we saw, were distinguished in the reliefs of the column of Marcus Aurelius (p. 183). The two panels which we see to the R. if we look at the S. face of the arch, representing a harangue delivered by the Emperor and the sacrifice of the *Suovetaurilia* (notice the crowding of the figures, and the small scale of the animals) are conventional in subject

and treatment—we have met with such scenes repeatedly on the columns of Trajan and M. Aurelius); they might belong to either series. To the L. of the inscription, however, we recognise captive Sarmatians brought before the Emperor; and next to it is a scene identified as the harangue delivered by Marcus to the prætorian guards in their camp in Rome during a brief visit which he paid to the capital in January, A.D. 174, at the close of the “Germanic” war. Passing through the arch and looking at the panels on the N. face, we notice to L. two reliefs which depict the arrival of the Emperor in Rome. In the first he is crowned by Victory and accompanied by Mars and Virtus (or Roma); in the second his guards are beside him, an ideal figure of the Senate behind him, and a reclining figure with its R. arm resting on a wheel in front of him; this last personifies the Flaminian Way. These scenes refer to the arrival of Marcus in Rome at the beginning of A.D. 174, and balance the final triumph depicted on two of the reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 133). The two panels to the R. represent the submission of a German chief and his son, and the *congariarium*, or largess, distributed to the people of Rome after the triumph of A.D. 176. Notice the figure of an elderly man who stands behind the Emperor in several scenes. It is a portrait of his prætorian prefect, Bassæus Rufus, a man of low origin and rough manners.

Lastly, we come to the reliefs which may be ascribed to the artists of Constantine’s own time. On the pedestals of the free-standing columns are figures of standard-bearers, prisoners, Victories, etc.; on the E. and W. ends of the arch are medallions representing the chariots of Sun and Moon; and there is a narrow band of relief over the side bays, which is continued round the sides of the arch. These friezes are usually supposed to depict scenes from the history of Constantine himself; but it is probable that some of them were borrowed from a monument of Diocletian, who celebrated a triumph in honour of the victories of his colleague Galerius over the Persians in A.D. 303. There exists at Salonica a triumphal arch set up by Diocletian in com-

memoration of the successes, and we saw that an arch of the same Emperor once stood in the Corso (p. 181). Moreover, a close examination of the reliefs has shown that in three cases the original head of the Emperor has been removed, and a fresh one (so insecurely fixed that it has been lost) substituted. We shall therefore probably be right in attributing to Constantine only the two strips of relief on the S. side, which represent the battle of the Milvian bridge and the siege of a city, most likely Verona ; while the triumph depicted on the narrow ends of the arch will be that of Diocletian. The Oriental head-dress of the captives and the presence of a camel (on the W. side) show that the victory had been won on the E. frontier ; and this is fatal to the view that Constantine himself was the victorious Emperor. The two reliefs on the N. face represent (R.) the *congiarium* distributed after the triumph, and (L.) the Emperor making a proclamation from the Rostra. The ship's beaks are omitted for the sake of brevity, but we see the honorary columns bearing statues which stood on the platform and made it necessary to support the added weight by fresh piers and arches, as we saw (p. 57). To the R. of the Rostra is seen the Arch of Septimius Severus, to the L. the Arch of Tiberius and the Basilica Julia. These two friezes, with their strict symmetry and clearly-marked lines, accord better with the monumental character of this late art than the confused compositions of the other side.

Finally, notice the figures of Dacian captives in *pavon-azzezzo* which crown the eight columns flanking the bays. The columns are monoliths of *giallo antico*, save one, which is of white marble, and was set up when the original column was removed to the Lateran. The Dacians (heads restored) were no doubt brought from Trajan's Forum : one of the figures is modern, but we have seen the ancient torso in the Capitoline Museum (p. 106).

Following the Via di S. Gregorio we soon come (on the L.), to the entrance of the **Antiquarium**, a museum formed by the municipality of Rome for the housing of sculptures, etc., recently discovered. The garden contains a number of

fragments of minor importance : notice the slabs decorated with racing chariots from the tomb of an *auriga*.

Entering the museum, we see in the first room a collection of objects illustrating the technical processes used by the ancients on the shelves to the R. (notice the pigments, together with the implements for grinding them). By the wall opposite the entrance are placed, to R., slabs of coloured marble and other precious materials used for wall-decorations, which are furnished with labels ; to L. a collection of brick-stamps, the inscriptions of which are often dated, and therefore of great value in determining the period to which buildings belong. By the L. wall are lead pipes, stamped with the names of those whose houses they supplied with water ; these, again, are of great topographical interest. The distribution of the water supply was carefully regulated under the Empire, grants to private persons being strictly limited in quantity and checked.

In the second room on the R. is a bull belonging to a Mithraic group, like that described on p. 234, a fine torso in black marble, and some fragments of the frieze of gods and giants of which other portions are in the Lateran (p. 240) and Vatican (p. 305). The cases on the L. contain fragmentary sculptures, amongst them (top shelf) part of a well-executed landscape-relief with a temple precinct, tree, etc.

From this room a door in the L. wall leads into a **side-hall**. Here we see, to the L., a statue in green basalt (chosen because of its resemblance to bronze) which represents a woman praying with uplifted arms. The type is very like that of a statue in the Vatican (p. 295), but our statue seems to be a more faithful reproduction of the original creation, which dates from the end of the fifth century B.C. Such types were constantly used for portraits in Roman types.

By the wall opposite the entrance notice a female head with a curious covering made of birds' feathers ; it is that of an Egyptian princess of the Ptolemaic dynasty, and the delicate rendering of the flesh is characteristic of Alex-

andrian art. Further to the R. is a portrait-head of an Athenian general in the style of Cresilas (cf. p. 281). Three statues by this wall should also be noted : an athlete torso which belonged to a copy of the Diadumenos of Polyclitus (cf. p. 186) ; a draped female figure of "severe" fifth-century style, which should be restored with a sceptre in the left hand, and reproduces the type of a famous statue known as the "Hestia Giustiniani," now in the Torlonia collection, which is not accessible to travellers ; lastly, the torso of a warrior in violent motion, also of the later archaic period, and recalling by its strained pose and tense muscles the Marsyas of Myron (p. 235).

By the end wall to R. are two interesting heads—one of Perseus, with the winged helmet of Hades which made its wearer invisible, which has been attributed to the school of Myron, the other of Diomed—identified by means of a complete statue in Munich, which shows the hero in the act of carrying off the Palladium—which has been thought to be a work of Cresilas.

On the shelf by the wall to R. of entrance (between two fountain figures) notice the figure of a boy clad in an ungirt tunic, who was evidently carrying some heavy object in his arms. What this was is shown by a complete replica (but a much poorer copy) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. It was a pig ; and both this detail and the presence of a myrtle branch and torch-like staff bound with myrtle on the tree-stump show that the statue represents the so-called "Boy from the Hearth," who played a part in the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. The original was a work of the same period and school as the type of Apollo discussed on p. 122, and attributed by some authorities to the Attic artist Calamis. Very different from it is the curious draped figure next to R., which represents Priapus, the god of gardens and fertility. Finally, we have a figure of Hermes carrying a ram.

The colossal statue of Athena in the centre of the room is a replica of the Pallas of Velletri in the Louvre, derived from a fine Attic original of the fifth century, perhaps by Cresilas.

Returning to the second room, we pass thence into the third, which contains objects found in the cemeteries of the Esquiline. To the R. are some interesting sculptures in *peperino*, which belonged to a monument set up (as an inscription shows) by the corporation of flute-players (*tibicines*) who performed at public sacrifices. The inscription dates from about the beginning of the first century B.C., and the monument, with the rudely executed statues of flute-players (fragments by the R. wall) may belong to that time. The group of Orpheus charming the beasts, also in *peperino*, almost certainly belonged to this monument—the subject was a natural one for musicians to choose.

In the fourth room (which contains a number of terracottas in cases) notice two female heads in *peperino*, copied from Hellenistic originals, standing on altars of the shape of that erected to the “Unknown God” on the Palatine. One of them was dedicated to Verminus, the god of worms in cattle, on the occasion of a murrain.

In the fifth room are a number of heads of different periods on the shelves to the R. The Imperial portraits will easily be recognised. On the lowest shelf is a head of Apollo belonging to the fourth century type represented in the room of the Dying Gaul (p. 124). On the L. notice a statue of a Muse in the attitude of the Vatican Melpomene; a spirited group of Satyr and nymph; a fine architectural frieze, less overladen with ornament than those from Trajan’s Forum in the Lateran; and a relief representing gladiators with names inscribed thereon.

In the last room are a number of fragments belonging to a large mosaic of late date with hunting scenes, and a charming group of two girls, one of whom has mounted on the back of the other, found in one of the parks on the Esquiline.

The Via di S. Gregorio leads us to the S. angle of the Palatine, where the Septizodium of Septimius Severus (p. 98) once stood: notice in passing the arches of the aqueduct (an extension of the branch of the *Aqua Claudia*

built by Nero) which supplied the Palatine with water : it seems to have been built by Domitian.

From the point which we have now reached the Via dei Cerchi diverges to the R., and traverses the valley between the Palatine and Aventine in which the Circus Maximus stood : some remains of the brick arches on which its tiers of seats rested, showing the curved outline of the S.E. end, are visible at the beginning of the street. Races took place in this valley (called the *Vallis Murcia*), from very early times ; but it was only gradually that permanent structures were set up, and the magnificent building of Imperial times was, if planned by Julius Cæsar, at least completed by Augustus. All trace of its splendours has disappeared save the obelisks which now stand in the Piazza del Popolo, and that of the Lateran—the former brought to Rome by Augustus, the latter by Constantius II, to adorn the *spina*, or long wall in the centre of the race-course.

We turn to the L. by the Via di Porta S. Sebastiano, which coincides with the ancient **Via Appia**. The *Porta Capena*, by which it issued from the Servian wall, was close to our starting-point. We soon reach (on the R.) the vast ruins of the **Baths of Caracalla**, the most perfect example of the palaces of luxury and comfort which the emperors erected for the pleasure-loving Roman populace. Though not so large as the Baths of Diocletian (which is said to have accommodated 3200 bathers, whereas those of Caracalla furnished baths for only half that number) they were probably more magnificent in their decoration. Amongst the works of art which have been found in their ruins are the group known as the “Farnese bull,” the so-called Flora and the colossal Heracles of Glycon (this last stood in the central hall), all of which passed with the Farnese collection to Naples and are amongst the treasures of its museum.

The Baths of Caracalla, begun in A.D. 211 and opened five years later, are built on a high artificial platform about 360 yards long and 340 broad, partly raised on the walls of earlier buildings. For example, in the garden of Via di Porta S. Sebastiano 29, were found the remains of a second

century house, with rooms painted in fresco and paved with mosaics opening upon a peristyle, of which the upper story was destroyed by Caracalla. The façade of the Thermæ faced the Via Appia, but was at some distance from the road, and Caracalla built a "New Street" (*Via Nova*) leading directly from the Circus Maximus to the main entrance. The vast enclosure has only been partially excavated, and is not as yet in its entirety the property of the Government. It was laid out as a park, in the centre of which stood the main building, 240 yards long and 124 yards broad. The arrangement of this is typical, and was closely copied in the Thermæ of Diocletian. In the centre was a suite of halls in which the baths (cold, warm, and hot) were taken ; at either side were *palæstræ*, or large courts for gymnastic exercises, and at the four corners of the building were smaller rooms for various purposes of the toilet.

Ancient writers speak of three rooms as essential to a suite of baths—the *frigidarium*, *tepidarium*, and *caldarium*—and it has usually been supposed that these names can be applied to the three large halls in the central part of this and similar buildings. There can, at least, be no doubt that the farthest from the entrance, facing to the S.W., was the hot bath. The case is not so clear with regard to the other rooms. On entering the building we turn sharply to the L. and find ourselves in a large rectangular hall, which contained a great swimming bath in the centre. At either end was a vestibule (the entrance is in one of these). It has been much debated whether the swimming bath was roofed over or not. There is some reason to identify this hall with the *cella soliaris* described in the ancient life of Caracalla as having a flat ceiling of enormous span, supported by concealed girders ; for in excavating it long iron hooks were found, which may have been used for the suspension of a concrete ceiling from metal girders. Behind the swimming-bath is the great central hall, which was vaulted in three bays like that of the Thermæ of Diocletian, now the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli (p. 198), or the Basilica of Constantine (p. 78). Notice the remains of

sculptural decoration in this hall, especially the figured capitals adorned with statues (Heracles, Roma, etc.).¹ Hence we pass on through a much smaller oval room into the last of the main suite—the circular *caldarium*, which projected to the S.W. beyond the line of the rectangle. The dome rested on eight enormous piers in which were spiral stair-cases; only two of these still preserve anything like their original proportions. The double floor or hypocaust, and the flue-tiles lining the walls, by means of which the room was heated, are easily traceable.

It is usual to call the swimming-bath the *frigidarium*, or “cold bath,” and the great hall the *tepidarium*, or “warm bath”; but there seems to have been no artificial heating in the latter, and we ought probably to give the name *tepidarium* to the smaller room intervening between it and the *caldarium*. In that case the cold baths must have been placed in the four large recesses which we see in the side bays of the central hall; while the great swimming-bath, or *piscina*, was an adjunct not found in the smaller suites described by ancient authors.

On either side of this central suite were the great open courts which served for gymnastic exercises. In the more southerly of these are some fragments of architectural decoration; a piece of the frieze (with animals and Cupids) which ran round the peristyle is in its place. There are also remains of a mosaic with sea-monsters, which belonged to a room on the upper floor. The large mosaic with athletic scenes in the Lateran (p. 231) was found in the N. peristyle. Each of these courts had a large apse in the outermost wall.

It is not possible to determine the uses to which each of the smaller rooms in the angles of the main building were put. In some of them are the remains of baths; in others we can see that there was an upper storey.

¹ Of the eight monoliths of grey granite which carried the vaulting one only is now in existence: it was removed to Florence in the sixteenth century and stands in the Piazza S. Trinità.

Through the *caldarium* described above we pass into the park. The buildings which surrounded this (libraries, lecture-rooms, etc.) are only partly accessible: the most noteworthy is a domed octagonal hall on the S.E. side (turn to the L. on leaving the main building). The architect had almost, but not quite, mastered the secret of supporting a cupola on "pendentives," i.e. spherical triangles at the corners of a rectangular building, a principle which had a great future before it, and found its most perfect expression in S. Sophia at Constantinople.

Immediately opposite to the *caldarium* was a racecourse or stadium, with tiers of seats along the enclosure-wall; and behind this again have been found the remains of a large reservoir in two storeys, from which water (brought by a special aqueduct, see p. 223) was supplied to the baths. To make room for the buildings on this side the Lesser Aventine was excavated to a depth of more than 100 yards.

The baths of Caracalla afford the most perfect example of Roman construction in brick-faced concrete, with bonding courses of large tiles (two feet square) at regular intervals, running through the whole thickness of the walls; and many details, such as the use of iron and marble plugs to hold the backing of cement for stucco decorations, and the bedding of the mosaics which have fallen from the upper floors in successive layers of cement, are more easily studied here than in any other building.

Returning to the Via di Porta S. Sebastiano, we soon reach the point where the **Via Latina** diverges to the L. This was one of the most important, and perhaps the most ancient, of the great **military highways** upon which Roman supremacy in Italy depended. Built during the wars which made Rome mistress of the Latin League, in order to give direct communication with the important pass of Algidus in the Alban hills, it was already continued as far as Campania—following the valley of the Liris, like the modern railway to Naples—a score of years ere the **Via Appia** was built (in 312 B.C.) by the blind censor, Appius Claudius, who chose the more difficult route through the

Pomptine marshes to the coast at Terracina. Probably one of the three triumphal arches which, as we know, spanned the Via Appia in this region—those of Drusus (see below), Trajan, and L. Verus—was placed at this fork, like the Porta Maggiore at the divergence of the Via Prænestina and Via Labicana.

From this point onwards the Via Appia became the **street of tombs** whose ruins extend for three or four miles outside the Gate of Rome. The temples of Mars and other divinities which once existed in this region are destroyed; but there are abundant remains of burial-places, of which only those within the later city can be mentioned here.

To the L. of the Via di Porta S. Sebastiano (No. 12) is the **Tomb of the Scipios**, mentioned by Cicero amongst the famous monuments of the Appian Way and discovered in 1780. The Scipios maintained the custom of interring their dead when cremation was almost universal, and their burial-place consisted in a series of irregular tunnels quarried in the solid tufa. The main entrance was not from the Via Appia, but from a cross-road to the L. of it leading to the Via Latina, where there are remains of the façade with an arched doorway. The modern entrance is from the W., and there is little to be seen in the dimly-lighted passages except copies of the inscriptions, which are now in the Belvedere, together with the *peperino* sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus, the oldest member of the family buried in this vault. A suite of regularly built brick chambers was added in the first century B.C. for the use of freedmen of the *Gens Cornelia*. The excavations belong to the Municipality of Rome, and include a much later burial-place close to the Via Latina, which may be visited at the same time.

This is the so-called **Columbarium of Pomponius Hylas**, which is a typical example of the burial-places built under the Early Empire when the great cemetery on the Esquiline largely ceased to be used (being converted into parks) and land increased enormously in value. These are chambers with rows of small arches, in the floor of which were sunk

the urns (*olla*) containing the ashes of the dead : the name *columbarium* ("dove-cot") really applies to the single niches, but is popularly used of the whole monument. Some of these were built by the subscriptions of a group of individuals (such as the burial-clubs or *collegia funeraticia* common in Ancient Rome), or by speculators who drove a brisk trade in *columbaria*; and the monument which we are discussing was of this class. It takes its name from that of a person whose niche occupied a prominent position, and is worthy of a visit on account of its charming decorations in painting and stucco : notice, for example, the relief (in stucco) of Achilles taught to play the lyre by the Centaur Chiron (a subject familiar to ancient painters) in the pediment of a shrine at the foot of the entrance-stairs.

In the vineyard adjoining these remains (Via di Porta S. Sebastiano 13) are three other Columbaria, larger but more plainly decorated than that which we have seen. One of them is shown by the inscription found therein to have been built by a company of shareholders in the year A.D. 10, and to have been used mainly by the slaves and freedmen of Marcella, the niece of Augustus ; another consists of three passages forming a horseshoe, with room for 800 interments. This was somewhat more richly decorated, and was used by well-to-do people. There are marble brackets projecting from the upper part of the walls which carried a wooden balcony for the use of those who owned niches in the higher rows. The whole of the triangular space included between the Latin and Appian Ways and the walls of Aurelian was once occupied by burial-places of this kind.

Just before we reach the Porta S. Sebastiano (the Porta Appia of the Aurelian wall) we see an archway of travertine with free columns of *giallo antico* on either side of the single bay which is now preserved ; traces of the vaulting of the side-bays are visible. This is popularly identified with the **Arch of Drusus**, set up in honour of the stepson of Augustus (youngest brother of Tiberius), who died while campaigning on the Rhine in B.C. 9. But that (as we have

seen) is more likely to have stood at the junction of the Appian and Latin ways, and though the Composite capitals of the columns of this arch seem early in date, its architecture suggests that it belongs to the time of Trajan rather than to that of Augustus. It was used by Caracalla to carry the channel of the aqueduct by which his baths were supplied.

Returning to the cross-roads at the S. angle of the Palatine hill, we may now turn to the L. and cross the depression which separates the Aventine from the hill to the S. by the Viale Aventino, which follows the course of an ancient street, the *Vicus piscine publicæ*. At its highest point (where the Servian wall crossed the dip and was pierced by the gateway from which issued the road to Ostia) the Via di S. Saba leads up to the church of that name on the L.; on this see *Christian Rome*, p. 269, and notice the remains of ancient architecture found in the recent excavations. The private residence of Hadrian (occupied by M. Aurelius as crown prince) and the barracks of a police regiment (cf. p. 269) were near this spot. The Via di S. Prisca (to the R.) leads up to the summit of the Aventine; it is on the line of the ancient *Clivus Publicius*. The Aventine deserves a visit for its views and for its churches; but it possesses no visible remains of antiquity.

The Via di Porta S. Paolo here diverges to the L.,¹ and on the R. are some of the best preserved remains of the Servian wall, as to which see p. 356. Following the Viale Aventino and crossing the Via della Marmorata, we may take the Via Galvani and so reach the **Monte Testaccio**, which is 115 feet high and is entirely composed of broken pottery—the fragments of such of the jars in which wine, oil, grain, salt fish, etc. were imported, as, being damaged or broken, were of no further use. Most of them came from Spain (as their inscriptions show), some from Africa. The formation of the mound took two and a half centuries—from the reign of Augustus to that of Gallienus.

There was once a fine view from the top of Monte Tes-

¹ For the Porta S. Paolo and Pyramid of Cestius, see p. 360.

taccio, but it has been sadly spoilt by the erection of the new quarter, which bears an evil reputation. It is built on the site of the quays and warehouses (*Emporium* and *horrea*) of Ancient Rome, of which many remains (especially in the Vigna Cesarini, N. of the slaughter-houses) have come to light. The *Marmorata*, or quay where marble was landed, was near to the W. angle of the Aventine. More than 600 blocks of unused marble, many of them with inscriptions which illustrate the management of this Imperial monopoly, have been found there. There are also remains of the ancient wall and quays, partly in *opus quadratum* of Republican times, but for the most part of Imperial brickwork.

Returning towards the city by the Via della Marmorata, which traverses the narrow strip of level ground between the Aventine and the Tiber, we come to the **Forum Boarium**, or cattle market, one of the earliest centres of the busy life of Rome, now the Piazza di Bocca della Verità and its neighbourhood. No trace remains of its most famous sanctuary, the *Ara Maxima* or "great altar" set up, according to tradition, by Hercules, which marked the S.W. angle of the *pomerium* of the Palatine settlement. There are, however, two temples still standing in or near the Piazza, which it is extremely hard to identify with certainty.

The most picturesque of these is the **round temple** which has been converted into the church of S. Maria del Sole. It is popularly called the "Temple of Vesta" because of its circular form (cf. p. 71); but this it cannot be. There was a circular temple of Hercules Invictus, said to have been founded by the hero himself at the same time as the *Ara Maxima*: but this we know to have been to the S. of the piazza, near S. Maria in Cosmedin. The existing building is therefore to be identified either with that of Mater Matuta, the goddess of the dawn (and hence, by a natural transition, of childbirth) or with that of Portunus, the god of the harbour (*portus*). The *podium* on which the temple rests is of tufa and belongs to the Republican period, but the superstructure is of solid marble (a most unusual form of building in Rome): it has a peristyle of twenty Corinthian

columns (one lost), but the entablature has been destroyed and the roof is modern.

To the N. of it is the small **Ionic temple** which is now the church of S. Maria Egiziaca. If the round temple is *not* that of Mater Matuta, we may assign that name to this building : if it is we may see in this the temple of Fortuna,¹ which we know to have been near the other. Both these temples were destroyed by fire in 213 B.C. and immediately restored : and it was formerly thought that S. Maria Egiziaca (whichever of the two it represents) belongs to that period : it has recently, however, been argued that it is not earlier than the first century B.C. In any case, it is noteworthy as an excellent example of the parsimony of the Republican architects in the use of travertine, which is reserved for the angle columns, the entablature, and some other parts. Notice also the simplicity of the Ionic order, as compared with the ornate forms of the Corinthian which we have seen in Imperial temples. There was originally a *pronaos* or vestibule, but this was walled up when the temple was turned into a church.

From this point it is but a few steps to the modern Ponte Palatino, from which we can see, looking up-stream, the ruined **Ponte Rotto**, which represents the first stone bridge built over the Tiber in 179 B.C. and named Pons Æmilius after the censor, M. Æmilius Lepidus. The single ancient pier, whose remains can be seen, belongs to a restoration carried out by Augustus. The bridge was partly destroyed by a flood in 1598 and never restored. Until it was built there was no communication between Rome and the R. bank of the Tiber (where the outwork of the Janiculum was the only defence) except by the wooden *pons sublicius* or bridge of piles (that which was held by Horatius and his comrades in the well-known legend). An inviolable tradition prescribed that this bridge should be always restored—as it had been built—without metal of any sort ; and from this fact we can infer its high antiquity. It must have stood near the modern bridge.

¹ Not Fortuna Virilis, as it is commonly called.

Further up-stream we see the **island** in the Tiber, consecrated to Æsculapius in 292 B.C. when his sacred serpent was brought from Epidaurus and swam to shore there. The temple of Æsculapius is represented by the church of S. Bartolommeo. The island was surrounded with a travertine quay in the form of a ship, and we can see some traces of this at the S. end.

Looking downstream, we can see—unless the river is too high—the mouth of the **Cloaca Maxima**, with its neatly constructed arch in three rings of *peperino* (see p. 42).

Returning to the piazza, we may visit S. Maria in Cosmedin (*Christian Rome*, p. 257) and examine the antique columns engaged in its walls, which show that the nave and sacristy are built on the site of an ancient rectangular hall, whose major axis was perpendicular to that of the church. It had a plain back wall and a colonnade on three sides, forming an open *loggia*, and has been identified as the *Statio Annonæ*, or headquarters of the Imperial administration of the corn supply. The *loggia* can hardly be dated earlier than the fourth century A.D. Until the eighth century the church extended only as far as its back wall, but it was enlarged by Hadrian I (A.D. 772–95) who added the choir and apse, and for this purpose destroyed the remains of an ancient temple—either that of Ceres, Liber and Libera, built in 494 B.C., or of Hercules Pompeianus, which is said to have been “near the Circus Maximus.” Traces of its foundations were discovered when the church was restored. Before leaving the church, notice at the end of the portico the **Bocca della Verità**, an ancient marble disc with a Triton’s mask through the eyes, nose, and mouth of which jets of water or steam were allowed to pass. It takes its name from the superstition that the monster would bite off the hand of a perjurer.

Crossing the Piazza dei Cerchi, we come to the **Janus Quadrifrons**, an arched passage with four entrances—as its name implies—which marked the limit of the Forum Boarium. It is to be identified with the “Arch of Constantine,” mentioned in ancient descriptions of Rome; the

rudeness of its workmanship, as well as the fact that fragments of earlier buildings were used in its construction, points to a late date. It has two rows of niches for statues—forty-eight in all—but several of these are unfinished.

The arch stands directly over the **Cloaca Maxima**, and in a mill in the Via del Velabro we can see the vaulted channel of the sewer. This great work of drainage, which first made the marshy ground of the Forum and Velabrum habitable, is ascribed to the Etruscan kings of Rome: and there can be no doubt that the regulation of the watercourse was of very early date. The vaulting of the tunnel, which is built of tufa and peperino (with sparing use of travertine) is of the Republican period, but cannot be precisely dated: the floor was paved, like a road, with polygonal blocks of lava. It has been restored in several places with the brick-faced concrete of Imperial times.

As we leave the Forum Boarium and enter the Velabrum (see p. 86), we see on our L., close to the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, the **Arcus Argentariorum**, an archway set up in A.D. 204 in honour of Septimius Severus, his wife Julia Domna, and his sons, Caracalla and Geta, by the “silversmiths and cattle merchants.” Notice that the inscription on the architrave has been partly recut over erasures. Not only was the name of Geta removed (as on the arch in the Forum), but also that of Fulvia Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla, whom he divorced and banished in A.D. 205. The monument is not a true arch, but a flat lintel resting on piers. It is a conspicuous example of the *horror vacui* which led Roman sculptors in the decline of art to cover every available space with ornament: the portraits of Septimius Severus and his consort on the inside of the piers are the most interesting feature.

The Via del Velabro leads into the Via di S. Teodoro and so to the Palatine and Forum.

XII

THE RIGHT BANK OF THE TIBER

[THE R. bank of the Tiber is poor in ancient remains. The *ager Vaticanus*, from which the palace of the Popes derives its name, embraced the whole strip of land between the Lower Tiber and the territory of Veii, and the *montes Vaticani* included both the Janiculum and Monte Mario. Augustus made that part of the city which lay on the R. bank, together with the island, into his Fourteenth region; but its limits cannot be traced with certainty. It must, however, have been much larger than the space enclosed by the wall of Aurelian, which was built for a purely defensive purpose and ran almost straight from the Porta Aurelia (modern Porta S. Pancrazio) to the nearest points on the river (close to Porta Settimiana and Porta Portese). The district opposite to the island and the Forum Boarium, which was easily approached by the *Pons sublicius*, the *Pons Æmilius* (p. 265) and the bridges connecting the island with both banks of the river (*Pons Fabricius* and *Pons Cestius*, both dating from the last century of the Republic), was a crowded and somewhat unsavoury quarter, like the modern Trastevere: it was largely inhabited by foreigners, especially Jews, who continued to have their settlement there until they were removed to the modern Ghetto by Paul III. But the rest of the district, including the heights of the Janiculum, was laid out in parks and villas. Near the modern Trastevere station were the "Gardens of Cæsar," where the Dictator entertained Cleopatra: these he bequeathed to the Roman people. In

the grounds of the Villa Farnesina was found the luxurious private house whose paintings and stuccoes we saw in the Museo delle Terme. North of this (in the Villa Corsini and the site occupied by the prison of Regina Cœli) was the "Grove of the Cæsars," where Augustus constructed a *naumachia* (fed by a new aqueduct) in which sea-fights were exhibited. Next to this were the "Gardens of Agrippina," which covered the whole of the Vatican district and the Borgo, and were adjoined by the "Gardens of Domitia," in the Prati di Castello. The first-named of these parks became the property of Caligula on his mother's death, the second was seized by Nero, who caused his aunt Domitia to be murdered. In this great Imperial park was the Vatican Circus, the scene of the first Christian martyrdoms and therefore also of the central church of Christendom; and hard by was the great Mausoleum of Hadrian. We know less of the ancient aspect of the Janiculum; but recent excavations have brought to light (in the Villa Sciarra and its neighbourhood) two sites hallowed by ancient worships of very diverse character—the *Lucus Furrinæ*, a grove sacred to the goddess Furrina, the very meaning of whose name was lost in historical times, and a sanctuary in which a strange medley of syncretistic Oriental cults was carried on under the Later Empire.]

We may cross the river, either by the island and its two bridges, noticing the ancient herms from which the Pons Fabricius—an ancient structure of tufa and *peperino* faced with travertine, built in 62 B.C. and restored in 21 B.C., as the inscription on its arches tells us—takes its name of Ponte dei Quattro Capi; or else by the Ponte Garibaldi, which leads to the Piazza of San Crisogono. To the L., in the Via Monte di Fiore, is the **Excubitorium of the Seventh Cohort of Vigiles**. Amongst the blessings which the enlightened despotism of Augustus conferred upon Rome was the establishment of an organised night-watch and fire-brigade, dating from A.D. 6 and consisting of 7000 freedmen in seven regiments (*cohortes*). Each regiment thus did duty for two of the "regions"; and to the seventh was

entrusted the Ninth (Circus Flaminius, including the Campus Martius) and Fourteenth. The barracks which we see were sumptuously decorated, and seem to have been in origin a private house, leased or appropriated by the Government at the beginning of the third century A.D. On descending the stairs we enter the *atrium* of the house, paved in mosaic, with a hexagonal fountain and a shrine decorated with faded paintings; and other rooms are accessible, especially a suite of baths (to the R.) where the slabs and panels of coloured marbles with which the walls are veneered should be observed. In the *atrium* are a number of inscriptions scratched by the firemen, ranging in date from A.D. 215 to A.D. 245.

An ancient bathroom with flue-tiles may be seen in the church of S. Cecilia (*Christian Rome*, p. 273), and in the lower church are the remains of a large tannery with circular pits; there is a relief of Minerva, the patroness of arts and crafts, in a small niche.

The view from the summit of the Janiculum has already been described (p. 4).

THE VATICAN COLLECTIONS

[In order to visit the Vatican Museum of sculpture we proceed to the Piazza di S. Pietro—notice the obelisk brought by Caligula from Heliopolis to adorn his Circus, and removed to its present position in 1586—and thence round the church of S. Pietro by the Via delle Fondamenta to the entrance of the museum.

The Papal collection of antiquities dates from the Pontificate of Julius II (1503–13), the greatest of the Renaissance Popes, and the most completely representative of the spirit of that age. As was said above (p. 102), Sixtus IV had founded the first public museum of ancient sculpture on the Capitol, and placed it under the guardianship of the Conservatori; but Julius II, while leaving to the city of Rome the monuments which recalled its august history, reserved for himself the masterpieces of classical art of

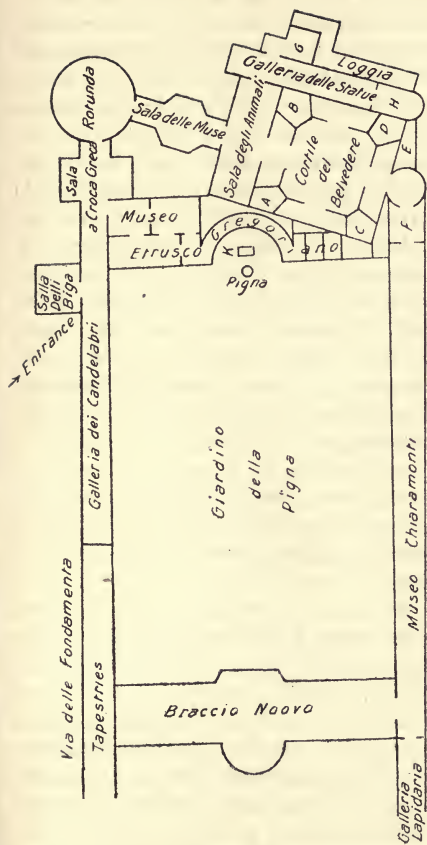
which the soil of Rome was beginning to yield a rich harvest. In the garden-house or Belvedere built by Innocent VIII were placed the Apollo (transferred from the gardens of Giuliano della Rovere's palace by S. Pietro in Vincoli when he became Pope), the Laocoon (discovered in 1506 near the "Sette Sale"—see p. 227), the so-called Cleopatra, now in the Galleria delle Statue (which *may* have come from the Baths of Agrippa), and other statues. It would be tedious to enumerate even the most famous of the works added to this collection by the immediate successors of Julius II—suffice it to mention the Nile, found on the site of the temple of Isis in the Campus Martius in 1513, and the Torso of the Belvedere, acquired from the Colonna by Clement VII. The growth of the collection was, however, abruptly checked by the Popes of the Reaction soon after the middle of the sixteenth century. Pius IV, anxious to obtain from the Medici the recognition of his shadowy claims to relationship, sent some of the statues to Florence : and more than this, he imprisoned the "heathen" figures of the Cortile del Belvedere within locked gateways ! His successor, Pius V, as we have already seen (p. 104), handed over all but a small number of statues to the Conservatori—others were presented to the Medici and the Holy Roman Emperor. The seventeenth century Popes were engrossed in the accumulation of wealth and the adornment of their family palaces—it is enough to mention the Aldobrandini, the Borghese, the Barberini, and the Doria-Pamfili collections, which sprang from this source. And it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century—when Clement XII and Benedict XIV had already given to the Museo Capitolino its present aspect—that the great expansion of the Papal collections began. Clement XIV (1769-75) and Pius VI (1775-1800) gathered together the treasures of art which formed the *Museo Pio-Clementino*. In order to house these collections, the former Pope built the portico which surrounds the octagonal Cortile of the Belvedere and turned the remaining portions of Bramante's building into the Galleria delle Statue ; this Pius VI extended, at the same

time building the Sala degli Animali, the Sala delle Muse and Rotonda, and connecting them with the existing W. wing of the Giardino della Pigna by the Sala a croce Greca and the staircase. He also built the smaller rotunda of the Sala della Biga and transformed Bramante's open *loggia* into the Galleria dei Candelabri. Pius VII (1800-23) saw the treasures collected by his predecessors plundered by the French invader, and determined to replace them, amassing in three years the sculptures of the Museo Chiaramonti which bears his name! The fall of Napoleon restored to the Popes most of the spoils yielded by the Vatican to the Louvre, and it became necessary to build the Braccio Nuovo, completed in 1821. The overflow of the earlier collections found a place in the Galleria Lapidaria.

The great period of excavation in Etruria was now beginning, and the next addition of importance was made to the Papal collections by Gregory XVI (1831-46), who formed the Museo Gregoriano; he was also the founder of the Egyptian Museum, to which the Capitoline collection and the excavations of Hadrian's Villa contributed. The remainder of the nineteenth century added but little to the treasures of the Vatican save a few sculptures of which the Apoxyomenos and the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta are the most famous.

The Vatican also possesses (in the Library) a small but priceless collection of ancient paintings, acquired by Pius VII and his successors.]

Ascending the entrance stairs, we come to the **Sala a croce greca**, or Hall in the shape of a Greek cross (with four equal arms). On either side of the entrance are Sphinxes, and beside the exit are two figures in Egyptian style from Hadrian's Villa which served as "Telamones" (the masculine counterpart of Caryatides). They had been erroneously supposed to represent Antinous. The most conspicuous objects in the room are the two **porphyry sarcophagi**. That on the L. (566) was brought by Pius VI from the church of S. Costanza (*Christian Rome*, p. 329), and once contained the body of Constantia, daughter of



- A Laocoon D Perseus
 B Hermes E Meleager
 C Apollo F Torso
 G Gabinetto delle Maschere
 H Sala dei Busti
 K Base of Antonine Column

N B The Galleria dei Candelabri and the Museo Etrusco Gregoriano are on the Second Floor Beneath them are the Library and the Museo Egizio respectively

THE VATICAN MUSEUM.

Constantine the Great. It is in perfect preservation ; the body and lid are each formed of a single block of porphyry. The vintage-scenes with which it is decorated may be compared with the mosaics of the church from which it came. Like them, they are pagan both in conception and in such details as the winged *putti*. The other sarcophagus (589) was once in the Mausoleum of St. Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, on the Via Labicana (now Tor Pignattara), but may have been originally made not for her, but for her husband, Constantius Chlorus. It was brought by Anastasius IV (1153-4) to the Lateran for his own use, and suffered much damage in transport ; when brought by Pius VI to the Vatican it was subjected to restorations which occupied nine years. The style of the reliefs, which represent the victory of Roman cavalry over barbarians, somewhat resembles that of the side-scenes of the base of the Antonine column (p. 332), and it has even been suggested that this sarcophagus is of that period. But the resemblance is purely external.

On the floor are three mosaics—by the entrance one which represents a basket of flowers, remarkable for its colouring, in the centre a shield with a head of Athena, by the exit a figure, possibly Dionysus, pouring forth the contents of a Cantharos on a flower.

To the L. (near the entrance) we see (600) a reclining river-god, which once adorned the fountain in the Cortile del Belvedere (the restorations are easily distinguished, and include the tiger's mask from which the statue came to be called the Tigris) : a bust of Hadrian (from Ostia) ; and (in the niche) a copy of the **Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles**. The head, which belongs to another and a poorer copy, should be turned more to the L. and look slightly upwards : and the drapery of metal which hides the lower part of the statue is of course modern. The goddess has just laid aside her last garment and is about to step into the bath. The gesture of her R. hand is due to the instinctive modesty of womanhood, and we are not for one instant to imagine that she is conscious of human spectators—that

is a refinement which we owe to later sculptors (such as the one who carved the Venus of the Capitol), who failed to enter into the spirit of Praxiteles' creation. His ideal of Aphrodite is that of the perfect woman—perfect, that is, in physical health and beauty : and it is still a *religious* ideal, though a different one from that of the fifth century, and indeed one which even to some of his contemporaries seemed to fall short of divinity : for we are told that the Coans, to whom Praxiteles offered the choice between this statue and a draped one, chose the second. It is well worth while to study the type in a good museum of casts, where the body of this figure (cast in 1887—the statue has never been photographed without its tin drapery !) is combined with a magnificent copy of the head, now in Berlin.

571 is a statue of the Muse of Tragedy, Melpomene, which has been wrongly restored with the double flute, and should hold a tragic mask and perhaps also a sword. The treatment of the drapery shows that the artist was inspired by fifth-century models, but the height at which the tunic is girt points to a later date, and the conception seems eclectic and may be of the Roman period.

Several of the statues in this room were found in the ruins of an ancient theatre and basilica at Otricoli (Otriculum) and are fair examples of the work produced for the adornment of the country towns of Italy under the Empire. Such are the seated Muses, to L. (569) Clio with roll, to R. (587) Euterpe with flute, the two statues of Augustus (565 and 597), and that of an orator addressing the people (592). Contrast the academic style of these works with the quite different and somewhat theatrical mannerisms of (564) the statue of the youthful Lucius Verus (the unworthy co-regent of Marcus Aurelius) found in the Forum of Præneste (Palestrina).

To the R. notice (on the wall behind the sarcophagus of S. Helena) the inscription referred to on p. 201, which contains the song of the Arval brotherhood. We next pass into the **Rotunda**, in the centre of which is a large porphyry basin said to have been found in the Baths of Titus. The

outer sections of the mosaic pavement, which represents sea-monsters, Tritons, etc. were found at Scrofano ; the remainder (except the head of Medusa in the centre, which is modern) came from the Baths at Otricoli, and belonged to an octagonal domed hall. The central space was left open, perhaps for the passage of hot air from below (which may then have been allowed to escape by an aperture in the cupola like that of the Pantheon).

Proceeding from L. to R. we notice first (553) a colossal head of **Plotina**, the wife of Trajan. The plastic rendering of the iris and pupil and the high polish indicate that it was executed under Hadrian, who caused his adoptive mother to be defied on her death in 129 B.C.

Next is (552) a colossal statue of **Juno Sospita** (the Deliverer). The chief seat of her worship was at Lanuvium (Cività Lavigna), where it was carried on as a state-cult of the Roman people ; but she also had a temple in Rome. She is characterised by the goat-skin and serpent, and is always armed with the lance. The statue is interesting as a creation of Roman art, which had here no Greek model at hand ; notice its somewhat archaic and conventional forms Antoninus Pius, who was born at Lanuvium, was a devout worshipper of the goddess, and the workmanship of the statue points to his reign.

We now come to (551) a head, and (550) a statue of **Claudius** ; contrast the idealised features of the first (found at Otricoli) with the faithful portrayal of the weak, yet benevolent, features in the second, which is so strangely discordant with the type of Jupiter in whose guise the Emperor is represented. Claudius has never, until our own time, received his meed of justice ; and such a statue as this is a real help to our understanding of his character—a strange blend of pedantry, self-indulgence, and yet genuine desire for the good of his subjects.

Let us now look at three heads (549, 547, and 539) which represent different **nuances** of the same ideal. Greek religion recognised a trinity of ruler—Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades—the seats of whose power were in heaven, the sea,

and the earth. **Zeus** was of course the supreme ruler of gods and men ; and in No. 539 (found at Otricoli) we have a magnificent embodiment of the Homeric divinity who "nodded his dark brows, and the ambrosial locks waved from the King's immortal head : and he caused great Olympus to quake"—a description which undoubtedly inspired the artist. The lofty forehead betokens supreme intellectual power ; the deep furrow tells of the care from which the ruler of the universe is never free ; the gracious expression of the eyes is that of one whose wrath can be as fearful as his mercy is sublime. Doubtless this type could never have been created had not Phidias fixed the ideal of Zeus in his statue of gold and ivory at Olympia ; but our head belongs to a later stage in the history of art. Fortunately No. 549 throws a flood of light on its origin. This is a head of **Sarapis**, the divinity in whose worship Greeks and Egyptians joined in the newly-founded city of Alexandria. The name is compounded of Osiris and Apis, and the former was identified by the Greeks with Hades, the god of the under-world. Ptolemy I commissioned **Bryaxis**, an Attic sculptor who had worked on the Mausoleum, to give a concrete embodiment to the new divinity ; and (as we see from a comparison of other replicas, some found at Alexandria) he found what he sought in a delicate but significant modification of the ideal of Zeus. The god of night and death, whose clemency is tinged with sadness, lacks something of the majesty and forcefulness of Zeus. We shall see another example of the type in the Sala dei Busti (p. 295) ; this latter is made of green basalt, and this helps us to form an idea of the original, which was built up on a wooden core with plates of blue-black metal. The copy before us is a work of the Antonine age, and the excessive use of the drill in the working of the hair has a disturbing effect. The *modius* or corn-measure on the head symbolises the bountiful harvests which mankind owes to the god of the earth : and the holes in the fillet were once filled by rays symbolical of the solar aspect of Osiris, who gave light to the living by day and to the dead by night. Finally, we have in 547

another and a much later derivative from the ideal of Zeus. Found near Pozzuoli, it has been thought to personify the bay of Baiæ under a form already used in like manner by Hellenistic art. The vine-leaves and clusters with which the dripping head is wreathed will then be symbolical of the vineyards which cover the slopes of that bay. The bull's horns are appropriate to the stormy element; the dolphins playing in the flowing beard, the breast covered with sea-plants, and the waves carved on the bust are scarcely more expressive of the nature of the sea-god than the almost wistful expression which differentiates him from the mighty ruler of Olympus.

Let us now turn to the two female divinities, 542 and 546. We have seen, in the Salone of the Museo Capitolino, a figure very like the first, and in the cloister of the Museo delle Terme, a variant of the second. 542 may represent either **Hera** or **Demeter**: in the latter case the R. hand should hold ears of corn and not a bowl (both arms are, of course, restored). It belongs, as the simplicity of the drapery shows, to the school of Phidias—perhaps to one of his pupils, Alcamenes or Agoracritus.¹ The second is likewise derived from Attic sculpture of the fifth century, but of a somewhat later time, when artists were beginning to take more interest in the representation of drapery for its own sake, and especially in the contrast between the thin material of the tunic and the heavier stuff of the woollen upper garment. It may be that what we see here is an adaptation of the Attic type of **Hera** to express the ideal of **Juno** for a Roman temple, such as that built by Metellus Macedonicus in the Porticus Octaviæ (p. 166). We shall see an almost exactly similar figure in the Braccio Nuovo.

Between these figures stands (544) a colossal figure of **Heracles** in gilt bronze. This was found near the Campo dei Fiori, and almost certainly stood in the Theatre of Pom-

¹ The statue was found near the Cancelleria, and has on that ground been supposed to have adorned the Theatre of Pompey (p. 167).

pey (or in one of the adjoining colonnades) in ancient times. It had been damaged (particularly by the flattening of the head) and then walled up with blocks of *peperino*. It is a work of the Roman period—perhaps executed in Pompey's own time—and somewhat coarse in execution; but it reproduces a type created by Scopas. The hero is holding the apples of the Hesperides (rightly restored) in his R. hand. We saw a statue of the same class in the upper corridor of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

545, to the L. of the Heracles, is a bust of Antinous (found in Hadrian's Villa), and the statue 540 (from a villa near Palestrina) represents him with the attributes of Dionysus (the thyrsus in the L. hand in a restoration, but a correct one). When Hadrian caused divine honours to be paid to his favourite, he was identified with many deities,¹ but with none so frequently as Dionysus. The late and short-lived Renaissance of Hellenism which Hadrian fostered produced its one masterpiece in this semi-ideal type, with its sensuous, yet sombre features and melancholy gaze. **Hadrian** himself is represented in the fine bust (543), found, together with a colossal head of Antoninus Pius, in his Mausoleum. Here, too, we have a touch of idealism in the portrait of the man of genius, whose insatiable thirst for the knowledge of all secrets led him into ways little understood by his contemporaries.

Contrast him with **Nerva**—if it be indeed Nerva who is represented by (548) the splendid seated statue of an enthroned Emperor; and though the profile is in part the work of the restorer, it is hard to see who else can be the subject, seeing that the figure clearly belongs to the best period of Roman art. Notice the *slope* of the body, which is of course *not* accurate if the figure is seated on a flat surface, but is a conventional pose which adds immensely to its impressiveness. The restorer has placed a laurel-wreath on the head, but it should perhaps rather be the *corona civica* or oak-wreath, such as that which Claudius wears in No. 550.

¹ We have seen him as Vertumnus in the Lateran (p. 233).

Later phases of Imperial portraiture are illustrated by 541, a head of **Faustina** the elder, wife of Antoninus Pius, found in Hadrian's Villa; 554 (next to the entrance), which represents **Julia Domna**, the wife of Septimius Severus and mother of Caracalla—a fine example of the breadth of treatment necessary to colossal portraiture, which (like the busts of Caracalla) shows us that Roman craftsmen were slow to lose their cunning; and (556) a head which has been—very doubtfully—identified as that of Pertinax, the successor of Commodus chosen by the prætorian guards, but murdered by them in the following year. At any rate, the head belongs to the close of the second century.

Lastly, 555 represents not Augustus himself (though it bears his features), but his *genius*—i.e. his spiritual “double,” which was worshipped together with his Lares or house-gods (cf. what was said as to the altar in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, p. 137 f.). This we infer from the type and attributes, which are those of the statue representing the *genius* of the *paterfamilias* which stood in every Roman house between those of the Lares.

We now pass through the entrance on the R. into the **Sala delle Muse**, noticing on either side of the opening colossal female heads (found in Hadrian's Villa) which represents the **Muses of Tragedy** and (as we are almost obliged to assume) of **Comedy**. The former (537) is clearly distinguished by the wreath of vine-foliage and the similarity of type to that of Melpomene. But the other (538) also wears the high headdress (*Onkos*)¹ proper to the tragic actor; and this is hard to explain. The high surface-polish and smooth but lifeless execution of the heads is characteristic of the period of Hadrian.

In the passage are unimportant statues of (533) Athena and (535) Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses.

The hall itself is an octagon with ante-rooms at either end, containing the famous group of Apollo and the Muses to which it owes its name, and a number of Greek portrait-

¹ This was a frame on which the hair was built up.

herms; the group (save two statues) and some of the portraits were found in the grounds of an ancient villa on the slopes outside Tivoli, and are typical of the decoration in vogue amongst the owners of such parks under the Empire.

In the ante-room, on the L., is (525) a very moderate copy of the famous portrait of **Pericles** by Cresilas; there is a better example in the British Museum, and we have seen a replica in the Museo Barracco. The treatment is ideal rather than individual: Attic art in the middle of the fifth century could express character in general terms, but it had not yet arrived at true portraiture. Compare the Anacréon of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The so-called "Julian" (as was said above, p. 119) is perhaps the earliest work in which the features of an individual are rendered with any exactitude. Beside Pericles has been placed (523) a female portrait-herm with the name of *Aspasia* rudely engraved on the bottom of the shaft: if this is indeed a portrait of the mistress of Pericles, it is due to the fancy of a later time, and the type is quite conventional. 524 is a female statue restored as a *Muse*.

Opposite to these are two herms belonging to a group of the **Seven Sages**. Under the portrait of each was inscribed his motto. Thus we have (531) **Periander**, the tyrant of Corinth, with the adage "Practice is everything," and (528) **Bias** of Priene, whose motto was "Most men are bad." These are not contemporary portraits, but ideal creations belonging to the early Hellenistic age, and though they are but poor copies, and have, moreover, been over-cleaned by an injudicious restorer, they are fine examples of the character-study in which Greek art excelled no less than Greek literature. The Seven Sages presented to the artist precisely the type of problem which fascinated him, for they were representative of the age which saw the emergence of personality in Greek affairs—an age whose traditions clustered about a few striking individuals. Between these herms is (530) a portrait-statue of poor workmanship, representing, not (as has been supposed) *Lycurgus*, but a

literary personage of the Alexandrian age to whom we cannot give a name.

In the centre of the R. wall of the octagon is Apollo, clad in the flowing robe of the *citharædus*, playing and singing to the lyre, his head wreathed with bay and thrown back. Unfortunately the copy is a poor one—the folds of the drapery are especially lifeless.

Of the nine Muses by whom he is surrounded seven only were found in the same place. To complete the number there were added (504, in the middle to the L.) a statue now restored with globe and *stilus* as Urania, but originally a figure of Persephone with torch in R. and flowers in L., or, it may be, a spinning-girl with distaff in L.—in any case, a charming creation of Praxiteles or his school¹—and (520, next but one to Apollo) a seated maiden (recalling the figures found in the Palatine Stadium, p. 97) who has been restored with the flute as Euterpe—really a *genre* type of Hellenistic date.

Let us now look at the Muses originally grouped with Apollo, some seated and some standing. To the L. we have (508) Polyhymnia, here represented as the Muse of the ballet, crowned with roses, just grasping in her R. hand her graceful drapery in order to accompany the motions of her body with those of the cloak. Then comes (505) Clio, the Muse of history, with a roll of parchment in her lap: the head is antique, but does not belong to the statue. After 504 (see above) comes (503) Thalia, the Muse of comedy, crowned with ivy and further characterised as the handmaid of Dionysus by the mask, crook, and tambourine. Very different is (499) Melpomene, the Tragic Muse, with her piled-up hair—see what was said as to No. 537—vine-wreath, mask (representing the greatest of tragic heroes, Heracles) and sword, in the masculine pose of a resting athlete.

Passing to the other side of the octagon, we see (besides

¹ The head was found in Hadrian's Villa: it does not belong to the statue.

520, already mentioned) Terpsichore (517), the Muse of individual lyric poetry such as that of Sappho and Alcæus, playing on the instrument used by that school of poets—the “lyre” properly so-called, with the shell of a tortoise for its sounding-board, as distinguished from the *cithara* which we see in the hand of Apollo and also in that of (511) Erato, the Muse of choral lyrics such as those of Pindar, which needed a choir of singers and dancers for their performance. It is unfortunate that neither of these statues has the original head. Lastly, between Apollo and Erato is (515) Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry, with *stilus* and tablets (the head again does not belong).

It is not easy to determine the period to which the group belongs. It has been ascribed to the school of Praxiteles—possibly to the sons of that master: but this seems unlikely. The *differentiation* of the several Muses—who in classical times were conceived simply as a group of nine sisters practising the “musical” arts of song, dance, and poetical composition—can hardly have taken place until well within the Hellenistic period. Moreover, the statues are not uniform in style, but are derived from originals created by diverse schools; and the heads are of the graceful but somewhat expressionless type employed by Neo-Attic sculptors. The originals were evidently of bronze, and the group may perhaps be attributed to a certain **Polycles**, who worked in Rome in the latter part of the second century B.C.

Let us now turn to the portrait-herms. To the L. we see (509) a portrait of Metrodorus, with which compare 498, his master Epicurus: we have seen the two on a double herm in the Capitoline Museum (p. 119). 507 is an inscribed bust of **Antisthenes**, the pupil of Socrates and founder of the Cynic school—one of the earliest triumphs of realistic portraiture, and at the same time a fine characterisation of the philosopher who preached contempt of all luxuries and conventions. 506 is a good portrait of **Demosthenes**; see p. 326, and compare with it 502, which, as its inscription tells us, represents his great rival **Æschines**. 500 is commonly known as Zeno, but wears no resemblance to the

bust inscribed with his name at Naples : it has been suggested that the upward gaze betokens an astronomer.

Opposite we have (510) a herm with the inscription Alci [biades]—so it is usually restored—on which has been set in modern times a head of the second century A.D. ; and 512 has, on account of the closed eyes, been called by the name of **Epimenides**, the Cretan priest and prophet who was said to have slept for forty years. Others believe that it is an early embodiment of the ideal conception of Homer. The original was of the fifth century B.C. 514 is Socrates, 518 an Athenian general of the time of the Peloponnesian war (it may *possibly* be Alcibiades), 519 (which bears the modern inscription “Zeno”) is Plato—most probably derived from a bronze original by the Attic sculptor Silanion, and very different from the conception which we should naturally form of the great mystic who was also so charming a dramatist and story-teller. 521 is Euripides much restored.

In the further ante-room notice two portraits of Sophocles—on the R. (496) in his old age, identified by comparison with an inscribed bust which we shall presently see, on the L. (492) as we know him from the statue in the Lateran p. 235), which was recognised as Sophocles by means of the (fragmentary) inscription on this bust. 494 (R.) is an unknown portrait ; 490 (L.) is commonly called Diogenes. Note the reliefs let into the wall—489 (L.) a *pyrrhiche*, or dance in armour, imitated for decorative purposes from an Attic original, and 493 (R.), which represents the birth of Dionysus from the thigh of Zeus : the child is stretching out his hand to Hermes, who is about to wrap him in a panther skin. The three female figures may be Fates, Graces, or merely Nymphs.

We now enter the **Sala degli Animali**, which contains a collection of animal sculptures made by order of Pius VII : some are frankly modern, such as (135) the lobster in green granite, and nearly all are much restored.

The hall is divided into two parts by the passage flanked by columns of grey granite which leads to the Cortile del

Belvedere. The passage is paved with a mosaic from the Forum of Præneste (Palestrina), and in the middle of the wings are mosaics with still-life subjects from the ancient villa at Roma Vecchia.

In the right-hand section (proceeding from R. to L.) notice (182) the head of a braying ass, (194) a sow with a litter of twelve pigs, perhaps representing the omen which greeted Æneas on his landing in Italy, although the litter in that case numbered thirty; then (202) a camel's head, used as the spout of a fountain. 208 represents the combat of Heracles with the three-headed monster Geryon, whose cattle the hero carried off: it belongs to a series of groups representing the labours of Heracles of which three others are here preserved, 213 (Cerberus), 141 (the Erymanthian boar), and 137 (the horses of Diomedes the Thracian). They are quite late in date (probably of the late Antonine period), but the figure of Heracles is derived from fifth-century models. 214 is a fragment of a landscape-relief very similar to that with the Satyr-child in the Lateran (p. 232). 219 and 223 (from Hadrian's Villa) are restored as peacock and peahen; probably both were males. 228, a Sea-Centaur carrying off a Nereid, stands almost alone amongst ancient works—so much so, that its genuineness has been doubted. It resembles modern groups of the so-called "rococo" style: yet it is certainly antique and once decorated a fountain, so that the Centaur appeared to be riding on real waves. We hear of a Greek artist named Arcesilaus who worked for Julius Cæsar, and made just such groups as this; it may actually be his work. 232 is the upper part of a Minotaur, represented in combat with Theseus. We saw a somewhat better replica in the Museo delle Terme. The original group was of bronze, and early in date. 233 is quite wrongly restored; the slave should be milking a cow.

On the left-hand of the entrance (proceeding from L. to R.) notice (172) the head of an ass which—as the ivy-wreath shows—was taking part in a Bacchic procession with evident delight. Further on are two reliefs in the sides of the

window which deserve notice. 158 shows Cupid driving a pair of boars: similar reliefs are known with gazelles and dromedaries filling the place of the boars. This was found in Hadrian's Villa. Next to it is 157, one of the so-called "Hellenistic" reliefs with rural landscapes, found at Otricoli—a piece of *genre* more suited to painting than to sculpture. 154, a leopard, is interesting on account of its curious technique: the body is of Oriental alabaster, with inlays of *nero antico* and *giallo antico*. 153, a young shepherd taking his siesta—conceived in the spirit of the Theocritean idyll—is a graceful example of garden-decoration such as was found in the peristyles of Roman houses. 139, an equestrian statuette, has been erroneously thought to represent Commodus: it is, however, a work of the Antonine period. 138 is a replica of the Young Centaur in the Capitoline Museum (p. 121); the Love-God perched on his back is largely, but rightly, restored, and makes the motive of the statue clear. If the hare is also a correct restoration (which is more doubtful), we may suppose that Eros is suggesting to the Centaur that he shall present it to his lady-love.

Turning the corner, we see to R. (124) a smoothly executed example of the group of Mithras the Bull-slayer, discussed on p. 234; in the wall behind this are inserted two landscapes in mosaic (113A, 125A) from Hadrian's Villa, which are among the best of their kind. Finally notice 116, a small, finely-carved group of two greyhounds, found with 117 and other animal figures (including a similar group in the British Museum) in the remains of the so-called "Villa of Antoninus Pius" at Civitá Lavigna.

We now pass through the doorway by the statue of the Young Centaur into the **Galleria delle Statue**. Turning to the L. we see by the end wall a reclining figure of the **sleeping Ariadne**, long famous under the name of Cleopatra, which was given to it when it was brought to the Vatican in 1512¹ on account of the bracelet in the form of a

¹ It is not known where it was found, but as its first owner had a house near the Arco della Ciambella (p. 172) it may have stood in the Baths of Agrippa. Raphael copied the motive for one of the Muses of his Parnassus in 1511.

serpent. That the figure was well-known in antiquity is proved not only by the existence of replicas, but also by the fact that it was copied (with the direction reversed) by the artist of the relief on the adjoining wall,¹ No. 416, who represented the legend in a more complete form. Theseus, returning from Crete with Ariadne, to whom he owed his victory over the Minotaur, landed at Naxos, and on his departure left her sleeping on the shore. She awoke to find herself surrounded by the train of Dionysus, whose consort she became. There is, however, no ground for the supposition that either Dionysus or Theseus were represented in a group by the artist of this statue. It is probably an original work of the Hellenistic period, perhaps of the later Pergamene school—the relative simplicity of the head in contrast with the marvellous richness and refinement of the drapery points in this direction.

The statue rests on a sarcophagus representing the battle of the gods and giants—or rather the giants without the gods, who were perhaps shown on the lid. The artist was inspired by a Pergamene composition in which the giants were represented with traits borrowed from the Gauls.

Let us now turn to the relief (416) mentioned above. It is reported to have been found in Hadrian's Villa, but evidently belongs to the same frieze as the similar slabs with the Labours of Heracles in the Gabinetto delle Maschere, which should at once be compared (Nos. 431, 434, 442, 444). The frieze (which took the place, in a later and more luxurious age, of such decorative terra-cottas as we have seen already, pp. 148, 220) represents a wall decorated with reliefs between which are niches containing statues. It may have decorated a gymnasium, for the walls of which the adventures of Theseus and Heracles would be appropriate subjects; in 442, moreover, we see the youthful Heracles instructed in the use of the lyre.

Above 416 is a relief (415) representing a Roman sacrifice,

¹ On the other hand, the statuette of a nymph below this relief (also inspired by the Ariadne) is modern.

poor in itself, but interesting as showing the influence of the Ara Pacis (note the festoons) and kindred works. (The bearded head is due to the restorer.)

On either side of the gallery we see a marble candelabrum (412, 413) on a three-sided base adorned with figures of divinities (to R. Ares Aphrodite and Athena, to L. Zeus, Hermes, and Hera). They were found in Hadrian's Villa; doubtless there were originally four, representing the twelve greater gods of the Olympian Pantheon. The types of the divinities all belong to the latter half of the fifth century B.C., and the candelabra are fine examples of the "classicistic" decorative art of the Empire.

By the R. wall is (417) a statue of Hermes, signed on the plinth by the copyist Ingenuus, the head of which is clearly derived from an original of Myron or his school. If this is true (as some think) of the statue as a whole, we must at least regard the chlamys as a copyist's addition.

The statue stands on a *cippus* of *peperino*, bearing the name of Tiberius Cæsar, an infant son of Germanicus, which was found in the Campus Martius, together with those of two of his brothers, as well as Tiberius Gemellus (under 420), the grandson of Tiberius executed by Caligula, and Livilla, the daughter of Germanicus, whose death was compassed by Messalina (under 410), and one bearing only the word "Vespasiani," perhaps that of Vespasian's wife (under 407); the urn of Oriental alabaster (420A) in the centre of the gallery may have contained the ashes of Livilla.

The torso 419, in spite of its soft modelling, probably represents Apollo rather than Dionysus: next to it is (420) an Imperial statue wearing a corselet adorned with chasings which represent Victory between trophies symbolical of East and West, and the Earth-goddess looking up in gratitude to the harbinger of peace. It is a fine Augustan work, and deserves to be compared with that of the Augustus of Prima Porta (p. 322). The head is a portrait of Lucius Verus: notice the characteristic rendering of the hair as a mass of curls, calculated for the play of light and shade

(also the fact that the top of the head is made of a separate piece of marble).

Passing the entrance of the Sala degli Animali, we come to (248) a somewhat similar statue, found together with the last near Cività Vecchia, but with a less interesting corselet, representing the archaic "Palladium" or image of Athena between dancing Victories; the head (which is of course much later) seems to represent Clodius Albinus, for a time co-regent with Septimius Severus (whom he resembles in feature).

250 is known as the "Genius of the Vatican," or as the "Eros of Centocelle" (from the place of its discovery): we have seen a replica in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. It is obviously a work of the Hadrianic period, but not—as some have thought—an original created by the Neo-Hellenic school of that time, being clearly copied from a bronze of the fourth century B.C., though not (as has been conjectured) the famous "Eros of Thespiæ," by Praxiteles. In some copies (which are wingless) the L. hand holds an inverted torch, and the figure is thus characterised as Thanatos, the God of Death; but there is no doubt that in its origin it represented Eros, himself the victim of the passion which he causes in others.

(Notice, on the wall above, a modern relief of the school of Michelangelo, which represents Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, driving the Vices away from Pisa, and contrast its style with that of ancient works.)

251 is a young athlete in the manner of Polyclitus (see below, p. 296), and the head (though of different marble from the body) is in the same style.

253, the figure of a Triton or Sea-Centaur, of which we see only the human portion, is a fine example of the "pathetic" school of Hellenistic sculpture. The head has been compared with that of the Gaul in the Ludovisi Collection (p. 209), and on this ground the Triton has been assigned to Pergamon. The torso of a companion-statue is in the Galleria Lapidaria.

Passing by 254, a Mænad or Nymph, draped in a style of

which we shall presently see another example, we come to 255, a seated statue of **Paris**; the restorer was probably right in placing the "apple of discord" in the R. hand. It is often held that the original was a famous work by Euphranor, a Corinthian artist of the fourth century B.C.; but the pose seems too subtly calculated for so early a date. The L. hand (restored) must have been resting on the rocky seat. Whether the figure formed part of a group (with Hermes and the Goddesses) or no, it is very hard to say: the apple (and "Phrygian" cap) make it sufficiently intelligible as it stands.

256 is a Heracles, much after the manner of the Hermes, No. 407, which we have just seen; 257 (on the wall above to L.) a relief showing the car of Selene (the Moon) on her way to visit Endymion; notice the crab with the figure of Aphrodite rising above it, which points to the connection of the planet Venus with the Sign of Cancer. The relief is a good specimen of Early Imperial work (after a Hellenistic model).

258 is a fine, but fragmentary, statue of Dionysus, claimed by some authorities as Praxitelean, but others assigned to the school of Timotheus (p. 111).

259 has been restored as Athena; not only, however, is the head that of an Apollo of the Phidian school, but the body (to which it does not belong) is that of the divine lyre-player; for it is clearly male, and the clumsy restoration of the L. breast and arm cannot hide the fact, which is patent when pointed out, that the drapery on that side was held up by the heavy *cithara* pressed against the L. side. The body is usually assigned to the later fourth century, but might well be as early as 400 B.C.

260 is a Votive relief dedicated to Asklepios (*Æsculapius*), such as those which we saw in the Museo Barracco: the heads are of course modern, but the relief is interesting as a good specimen of original Greek work, originally, no doubt, dedicated in the precinct of Asklepios at Athens.

261 is an interesting figure: in order to reconstruct it we must call in the aid of an unrestored fragment of relief in

the Museo Chiaramonti (p. 315), and a head in the Museo delle Terme (p. 203). Note, in the first place, that the original was **not** a **statue** in the round but a **relief**; next, that the restorer of this copy (who has also given to it the head of a *Diadumenos*, or young athlete binding a fillet round his head) has made the seat a rock, instead of an arm-chair with a wicker basket full of wool beside it. This gives the key-note of the composition: it was designed for the tomb of a virtuous housewife, and dates from the middle of the fifth century B.C. Very soon, however, it came to be used to represent Penelope longing for the return of Odysseus; and so it was clearly interpreted by the Roman copyists. The fragment of relief on the base represents Dionysus and Ariadne on a car, attended by Silenus.

In the base of 262, an unimportant female portrait of the second century A.D. is inserted a relief which shows a goldsmith at work.

264 is a copy in marble of one of the most famous bronzes of Praxiteles—**Apollo Sauroctonos** or the “**Lizard-slayer**.” Notice first the **pose**, and compare it with that of the “Resting Satyr” (406), by the opposite wall. The leaning figure—beautiful as its curve is—became a mannerism with Praxiteles. Still more remarkable is the **spirit** of the work. We are very far from the ideal Apollo, embodying the purest conceptions to which Greek religion attained, which the artists of the fifth century sought to represent. This is just a human boy, seeking to spear the lizard as it darts up the trunk by a deft throw of the dart. The difference illustrates the weakening of the religious sense in fourth century Greece.

265 is a replica of the Amazon ascribed to Phidias; we have seen another in the Room of the Dying Gaul (p. 129). The head, however, belongs not to this type, but to that assigned to Cresilas. In the base is inserted a relief of a seated philosopher: compare what was said as to the Anaximander of the Museo delle Terme (p. 202).

267, a drunken Satyr, is a fountain figure—the wineskin served as a spout.

268, found in the Baths of Otricoli, may have represented a Roman Empress as Hera; its present head is a poor copy of Praxiteles' Cnidian Aphrodite.

270 was found together with the Muses of Tivoli, and restored as Urania with *stilus* and globe: and if we replace the globe by tablets we shall probably be right, for the figure resembles a type attributed to a Hellenistic artist Philiskos, whose Muses stood in the *Porticus Octaviæ*, though its "rococo" drapery forbids us to assign it to that artist.

The seated portrait-statues on either side of the entrance to the Sala dei Busti must be considered together; they were found in the ruins of a circular hall on the Viminal. 271 is inscribed with the name of **Posidippus**, an Attic dramatist of the Comedy of Manners, who lived in the earlier part of the third century B.C., and succeeded to something of the popularity of Menander. The companion figure (390) was not unnaturally supposed to be that of **Menander** himself, but his features, which are now familiar to us (cf. p. 236), are quite different. The two statues do not appear to be by the same copyist: but both are of Roman date—notice the Roman boots which have taken the place of Greek sandals. That of Posidippus is, however, a faithful reproduction of an excellent third-century original: the keen observer and critic of human frailties, weak in physical constitution and saddened by experience, is admirably depicted. The so-called Menander is cast in a very different mould—robust and intelligent, but lacking the refinement of the Greek poet. He must surely be a **Roman** writer, to represent whom the artist has borrowed a well-known Greek type used for portrait-figures. We have seen it put to a somewhat different use in the statue in the Villa Borgheze (p. 194).

We now enter the **Sala dei Busti**, which was once a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist and decorated with frescoes by Montegna, of which a few figures (painted over) remain on the upper part of the walls.

Turn to the R. and examine the busts on shelves. In the

lower row we have (283) Hadrian, (282) Trajan, (281) Nerva—a modern forgery; (280) Titus: then (279) a forbidding personage of the late Republic. 278 has been called Otho, but the resemblance to his coins is vague. 277 is thought to be an idealisation of Nero under the form of Apollo, 276 is a nameless head of Julio-Claudian date. 275 is clearly a Greek, not a Roman portrait; the diadem with a medallion indicates the priest of a divinity, and the vine-leaves point to Dionysus. The most probable supposition is that it represents a priest attached to the worship of some Hellenistic king who assumed the style of “the New Dionysus.” 274 is **Augustus**, with the crown of wheat-ears proper to the Arval Brotherhood (p. 201), and 273 (one of the most famous of ancient busts) represents him in early life. It is extremely similar to a well-known head in the British Museum, and doubtless derived from the same original. This example was found at Ostia, and from its smoothness of execution has been conjectured to be of Hadrianic date: but it may well be a product of the chill classicism of the Augustan age. The “cool head and unfeeling heart” of Augustus are perfectly characterised. 272, if it represents Julius Cæsar, is at least a copy of Trajanic date, as is shown by the form of the bust (cf. pp. 37, 313).

In the upper row the first four heads (L. to R.) represent Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, and Commodus. The next head (288) is (on very dubious authority) said to have represented Didius Julianus, the elderly senator who bought the Empire when it was put up to auction by the prætorian guards. Next comes a nameless Greek philosopher, then (290) a replica of the portrait of a personage of Hadrian’s court which we saw in the Capitol with the signature of Zenas the Younger (p. 114). 291 is Septimius Severus, 292 a good portrait of the savage Caracalla, 293 a military commander of the Antonine age.

Crossing to the R. of the entrance, notice 388, two half-length figures from a Roman grave-monument, popularly known as “**Cato and Porcia**,” and chosen by the historian Niebuhr as the model for his own monument at

Bonn. The style of the woman's hairdress, and the fashion in which the man's toga is worn, point to the age of Augustus; but the spirit is that of Republican art, which continued to manifest itself beside the higher classicism of the time. On the shelf above are three portraits, one of a Greek philosopher, the others dating from the Early Empire.

Between the windows notice on the lower shelf a porphyry bust of a Roman prince of the early third century between two anatomical studies, one of the thorax itself, the other of its contents: these were votive offerings made for sick persons. The heads above are unimportant, as are those on the shelves next the R. window (377 is a pretty girl's head, wrongly named Isis).

In the centre of this room is (389) a column with three figures of the Hours worked on it in high relief—an elegant piece of work of Augustan date; the types are borrowed from Attic art of about 400 B.C. Notice, too, on a spiral column of black marble, a colossal Satyr's head in *rosso antico*, which resembles the work of Damophon, mentioned on p. 110.

Amongst the fragments, *torsi*, etc. on the floor of this room some are important as belonging to replicas of the famous group of Menelaus with the dead Patroclus discussed in connection with the Pasquino (p. 172). At least two, possibly three, copies are represented by fragments in this and the next room, and two were once in Hadrian's Villa. The **head of Menelaus** (311) in the next room is interesting on account of its fairly good preservation (it is restored in many details)—notice the decoration of the helmet: but it is not nearly as fine a piece of work as two of the fragments—384B and 384D—in this room. The former (on a pedestal) gives us the legs of Patroclus, the latter (on the ground) his shoulder, with a bleeding wound: they belonged to a first-rate copy. Notice (for comparison) 384A, the remains of a similar group representing Gauls, copied no doubt from the work of a Pergamene artist who borrowed the motive of the more famous work.

Passing into the next bay, we see several Roman portraits on shelves to the L.—in the corner, below (371) is Julia Mammæa, mother of Alexander Severus, above (366) a good Republican portrait-head. Notice a fine Greek head of a bearded man (probably from a tomb-relief) mounted on a medallion (364).

363 (lower bracket) is a good copy from a type of Hera (probably) belonging to the school of Phidias—it resembles heads on the Parthenon frieze : 362 (above) a poor head of Heracles after Lysippus. Amongst the heads on the shelves notice 358, an orator of the age of Cicero, next to (357) Antinous. 360 is a Flavian portrait, 359 Sabina, wife of Hadrian.

352 is a statue of a woman in an attitude of prayer—we hear of such “adorantes” by Euphranor, and other famous sculptors—with features which, though much restored, may be those of Livia, the wife of Augustus (it was found with a statue of that Emperor, now in the Sala a Croce Greca, in the Basilica at Otricoli).

Below is a curious relief (354) of very poor workmanship, showing the creation of mankind, represented by puppets, and a female “soul” with butterfly wings. Prometheus is seated on the R., and is approached by Mercury and the three Fates.

351 (the bust on the upper bracket), with its tangled locks, bears a family likeness to the “Mark Antony” of the Braccio Nuovo (p. 328).

Amongst the heads on the shelves which follow, notice the young Caracalla (347—*not* a son of M. Aurelius) and a third-century prince (345).

On the opposite side notice in the lower row (311) the head of Menelaus already mentioned, (310) head of a Greek warrior of Pergamene style (309), portrait of a Greek orator, somewhat resembling Lysias, (308) Isis, (307) Kronos (identified by the Romans with Saturn), and 306, a female portrait of Flavian date.

In the upper row (R. to L.) are some unimportant heads, then a bust of Sarapis in black basalt (cf. p. 277), next to it the

head of an African youth. 301 is Julia Mammæa (from Otricoli), 302 a good portrait of Augustan date.

In the centre of the room is a richly decorated marble base with reliefs on its four faces. On the broad sides we have, firstly, a copy of a well-known composition (best preserved in a replica at Naples—there is a fragment of another in the Museo Chiaramonti) which represents the bearded Dionysus and his train paying a visit to a victorious poet, and secondly, a group of two winged Loves (Eros and Anteros) burning a butterfly, which symbolises the soul, and on either side of them Centaurs—one male, with a Satyr on his back, the other female, with a Mænad about to alight. On the shorter sides are rustic scenes. It is hard to say what was its original destination.

Passing into the last bay, notice on the shelves to L. in the lower row (338) a fine original portrait of the period of the Diadochi (Alexander the Great's immediate successors: possibly Demetrius Poliorcetes). The horns indicate that he was worshipped as a "New Dionysus." 335 (of the time of Trajan) is the best of the female heads.

In the upper row (L. to R.) 331 is mediæval, 330 Augustus, 329 a colossal head of a barbarian, perhaps from the Arch of Constantine, 327 a *Flamen* wearing the *apex*.

Opposite, notice in the upper row (313) the head of an actor wearing a female mask; in the lower row (319) a head of Isis, with a diadem of serpents and a crescent, (321) an aged Satyr with porcine features.

The seated statue of Zeus (copied from a bronze original) is a careful, but conventional, piece of work; in front of it stands a celestial globe.

We now return to the Galleria delle Statue and examine the statues, etc. by **R. wall**.

391, a seated Apollo, would scarcely be worthy of notice had it not been wrongly described as a portrait of Nero; 392 (the head of which is a poor portrait of Septimius Severus) is a replica of the Polyclitan athlete No. 251.

393, a maiden, seated (as it would seem) upon an altar, is

a copy of an interesting figure much better represented by the so-called "**Barberini Suppliant**" in the Palazzo Barberini (which should be carefully studied). This latter statue has indeed been thought to be the Greek original (which dated from the fifth century B.C.). Its R. hand holds a branch, which indicates a suppliant ; but this is the work of a restorer, and the meaning of the figure is hard to determine. The fact that only *one* sandal is worn must be significant ; it was probably a piece of religious ritual.

Neither 394 (Poseidon) nor 395 (Apollo—from an early fifth-century original) need detain us ; but 396 is a puzzling figure, commonly interpreted as Narcissus. It was certainly *executed* in the Antonine period, and is so tasteless that it may conceivably be an original work of that time. Passing the reclining youth (397) with a head of Dionysus, we come to (398) an Imperial statue of the early third century A.D. conjectured to represent Macrinus, the prætorian prefect who seized the reins of the Empire on the death of Caracalla (A.D. 217).

399 represents Asklepios and Hygieia ; it is a poor copy of a graceful group. 400 (wrongly restored as Euterpe) reproduces a beautiful fourth-century type of Persephone ; the R. hand should hold a torch, the L. ears of corn and poppy-heads. 401 is a fragment of the group of the Niobids, on which see p. 327. A young Niobid is here supporting his sister, who has been shot down by the arrows of the offended gods. In the base is inserted a curious relief showing the façade of a temple, etc., with an inscription of uncertain meaning.

402 is a Roman portrait-statue upon which has been placed a head of the "Pseudo-Seneca" type (pp. 35, 216), 405 a decorative figure intended for a temple-precinct (in this case that of Fortune at Præneste), the basin serving as a stoup for holy water. 406, see on No. 264. 407 is Hermes (wrongly restored as Perseus), 408 *possibly* a portrait of Agrippina the Younger, the mother of Nero, 409 a variation on the theme of the young Satyr with the double flute which we saw in the Gallery of the Capitoline Museum, 410 (re-

stored as Flora) a careful but lifeless copy of a fourth-century type.

Let us now enter the **Gabinetto delle Maschere**, noticing on the passage-wall (421) an early **Greek grave-relief** representing a youth forced by a small boy holding an oil-flask. The high, narrow tombstone was crowned by a decorative palmette. Although it is not a work of the highest art, its freshness and spontaneity are startling in their contrast with the conventional Roman copies by which it is surrounded. Compare it, for instance, with the grave-statue of a girl of the Flavian period (423) on the L. of the entrance, copied from a Hellenistic type of Artemis.

The "Gabinetto" takes its name from the **Mosaics** let into the floor, which were found in Hadrian's Villa; three of them show masks and dramatic properties, the fourth a landscape. The border, with arabesques and the heraldic emblems of Pius VI, is modern.

By the **R. wall** notice first (425) a Nymph or Mænad belonging to the school which produced No. 254 (in the Galleria); these artists were specially interested in the effect of wind on drapery, and flourished towards the end of the fifth century B.C.

Let us now examine the **five statues of Aphrodite** in this room. 429, indeed, represents not the goddess herself, but Sabina, the wife of Hadrian; but the type is that wrongly called the "Venus Genetrix" (from a mistaken idea that Cæsar placed an example thereof in the temple which he built to his divine ancestress), and often (but equally wrongly) identified with the "Aphrodite in the Gardens" of Alcamenes, the pupil of Phidias. It is, however, a creation of an Attic school contemporary with that to which we owe No. 425. Note that the under-garment covering the L. breast was added by the Roman artist because he was portraying an Empress. 436, a reduction of the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles (see p. 274) is only worthy of mention as illustrating the lowest depths to which the copyist of a great work can descend. We then come to three Hellenistic

types. 427 is the most interesting, since we know the name of the artist—Dœdalsas the Bithynian, who lived in the first half of the third century B.C. The original was brought to Rome and placed in the temple of Jupiter in the Porticus Octaviæ. Probably, however, this is not a direct copy of Dœdalsas' work, but of one of the variations on the same theme to which it gave rise. The "Vénus accroupie" of the Louvre is a better representative of the original conception. The half-Greek, half-barbarian sculptor was a master in the rendering of the nude, but his work lies quite outside the province of religious sculpture (unlike that of Praxiteles); and the same is true, although in a lesser degree, of Nos. 433 and 441. The first represents the goddess drying her hair after the bath: the motive may be traced to that of the Polyclitan *Diadumenos* and like statues, but it is modified so that the composition no longer presents a flat, relief-like surface to the spectator, but has the full roundness of actuality. The contrast between the nude torso and the draped lower limbs is effective. 441 is a replica of a much finer statue at Syracuse; this latter is headless, but the shape of the neck (and the evidence of a poor copy at Carlsruhe) show that the goddess was looking to the L., not to the R. (this head is modern). Moreover, the R. arm should be restored much as the L. arm is in this case, while the L. hand should hold up the drapery by the knot. The arms, therefore, when rightly restored, place the statue in the series to which the "Medici Venus" at Florence and that of the Capitol (p. 111) belong: but the drapery which they lack enhances the artistic effect.

Of the other statues, 432 is the replica of the Red Satyr in the Capitoline Museum mentioned on p. 126; both were probably the work of the school of copyists from Aphrodisias; while 443 is a fourth-century type of Apollo (which should hold laurel-branch in R., bow in L.) often attributed to the Corinthian Euphranor.

The reliefs from an architectural frieze, (431, etc.) have already been mentioned (p. 287). Notice the four grave-altars or *cippi* (under 425, 429, 433, 441) which are good

examples of a school of decorative work which flourished under the Early Empire. 441A is that of a freedman whose patron was consul in 11 B.C. The **chair** in *rosso antico* was probably used for a vapour bath.

The Loggia Scoperta, adjoining the Gabinetto delle Maschere, is closed. It has a fine view, and contains some reliefs and busts of no great importance.

Returning to the Sala degli Animali, we turn to the L. and pass into the **Cortile del Belvedere**. The inner arcade and corner cabinets are additions to the original plan. Beside the entrance are (64, 65) two hounds, which have been supposed to be from bronze originals by Lysippus (cf. the wounded dog in the Museo Barracco, p. 188). Turning to the R. we see a sarcophagus with a battle of Greeks and Amazons, upon which is placed a badly-weathered Greek bust inscribed with the name of **Sophocles** and for that reason of great value, since it has enabled us to identify other heads of the poet. Above, on the wall, a late sarcophagus with architectural background and family groups. Further to R., on a child's sarcophagus, (73) a sleeping figure fantastically restored with a snake encircling the arm, originally belonging to the lid of a sarcophagus.

We now enter the cabinet of the **Laocoon**, and find ourselves in presence of one of the most famous works of ancient sculpture—amongst the very few *originals* of world-wide celebrity in their day which have been preserved to us. Pliny the Elder, in his *Natural History*, tells us that it stood in his day in "the house of the Emperor Titus"; and it came to light in 1506 near the Sette Sale (p. 227), i.e. on part of the site once occupied by Nero's Golden House, and doubtless reserved for themselves by the Flavian emperors. He further tells us the names of the artists—Agésander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus the Rhodians—who carved the group "by consultation," as he quaintly puts it. This is, however, doubtless part of the *cicerone's* patter, like the further statement that it was made of one block of marble—there are in reality *four*. Recent discoveries in Rhodes

itself have brought to light inscriptions showing that the artists named by Pliny lived in the first century B.C.; probably Agesander was the father, the others his sons. The group must be dated 50-40 B.C.; and the production of so great a masterpiece at a time when Greek art was fast falling under the spell of academic classicism is a remarkable proof of the vitality of the Rhodian school.

Laocoon was priest of Apollo at Troy (in Vergil's well-known story he is priest of Neptune, but the bay-wreath here is decisive), and for an old offence against the god was visited with the punishment here depicted. Two snakes attacked and slew him and his sons as they were ministering at the altar. We must not forget that the scene so vividly presented, which to us is only redeemed from horror by its artistic beauty, filled the ancient spectator with religious awe, inspired by the late, but unfailing, vengeance of the offended god. Moreover, the tragic significance of the group would be immediately grasped, while the modern traveller to whom the myth has to be explained, finds the group deficient in adequate motive.

Artistically speaking, the defects of the Laocoon are patent. It is true that the R. arm of the father is wrongly restored : an arm from a copy on a somewhat reduced scale (discovered in 1906) is placed beside the original, and shows that it ought to be bent towards his head. This gives the group the triangular form which Hellenistic artists preferred: but it is too obviously calculated for a single point of view (it stood, no doubt, in a niche). Such flat, relief-like composition in a single plane of vision can only be attained by some sacrifice of naturalism. Again, it has often been pointed out that the sons of Laocoon have not the forms of boys, but of small men. Indeed, the figures of the boys are entirely dwarfed by comparison with that of Laocoon—a masterpiece, both of anatomical detail, in which modern science has only been able to find one trifling error, and (in the head) of agonised expression.¹ As such it can scarcely

¹ It is, of course, inconceivable that (even in the ancient world) such a figure could have been made from a living model.

be paralleled : but the well-known type of Homer (p. 118) has been conjectured to be a work of the same school.

Travellers who visit Florence should compare the copy (in the Uffizi) made by Baccio Bandinelli in 1520 for Leo X, who had been compelled by Francis I of France to promise him "the Laocoon" as a gift. The copy never reached Paris, and the original only in 1797 !

The statues, sarcophagi, etc., which follow are not important till we come to 81, a slab from one of the processional friezes of the Ara Pacis Augustæ (p. 204). As, however, the heads in the front row are restored, it helps us but little to appreciate the style of these figures ; for this we must visit Florence. Lictors (in front) and priests attended by *camilli* are here shown.

Next observe a grave-altar (84) sustaining a block of variegated alabaster, with the seated figure of the deceased in high relief. It is a good piece of Flavian work.

The statue of Hygieia (85) in the following niche is derived from a graceful fourth-century work ; the head is a fifth-century type. In front of it (87A) is an altar bearing the name of one Ti. Claudius Faventinus, and dedicated (in all probability) to Mars and Venus : it belongs to a class of which we have seen an example from Ostia in the Museodelle Terme. Mars and Venus are themselves represented beneath the inscription, with the chariot of the Sun and a figure of Vulcan (the husband of Venus) above. On two sides are scenes from the tale of Troy in bands of relief, beginning with the Judgment of Paris ; on the other (as on the altar from Ostia) the legend of Rome's beginnings is depicted (Mars and Rhea Silvia, the twins, the wolf and the shepherds). The style of lettering and reliefs forbids us to identify Faventinus with the officer who transferred the allegiance of the fleet at Misenum from Vitellius to Vespasian. The altar is of second-century date. It is instructive to compare it with that upon which it stands, a good specimen of Augustan work, though much damaged. On the side towards the court we see an apotheosis—probably that of Julius Cæsar, the witnesses of the event being Augustus and

Livia with her sons ; and on the opposite front Victory bearing a shield on which is inscribed the dedication of the altar to Augustus by senate and people. On the narrow ends we have the omen of the sow which greeted Æneas on his landing in Italy, and the dedication by Augustus of two figures of Lares (cf. p. 137). A relief (88) representing a triumphal car preceded by Roma and a group of soldiers seems to be of the time of Domitian ; in style it stands midway between the Arch of Titus and Trajanic sculptures.

We next pass into the cabinet of the **Apollo**, once the most admired of ancient statues, but long since dethroned from its proud position since we have come to know what the original work of the Greeks was like. First of all, notice that the heavy garment (which would, of course, slip off the L. forearm if worn as it is here) is an addition of the copyist in marble : the original was of bronze, and in this material the extended L. arm needed no support. Next, observe that Apollo is neither standing nor walking : his feet, it is true, are touching the earth, but the gliding motion of the body is almost that of flight, and we must think of him as sustained by his divine power. The R. hand (badly restored) should hold a laurel-branch, the L. a bow (there is a small bronze replica in the Stroganoff collection at St. Petersburg which appears to hold an ægis with Medusa's head in the L., but its genuineness is disputed). The meaning of the figure cannot be mistaken—the god has by his sudden appearing discomfited the powers of darkness. The conception is a fine one, and the historical occasion is not far to seek—the threatened sack of Delphi by the Gauls in 278 B.C., which was averted (as the story ran) by the intervention of Apollo in person. Many high authorities have indeed abandoned this view, and hold the statue to represent a work of Leochares, an Attic artist who worked on the Mausoleum : we shall see a copy of his Ganymede presently. But the figure transcends the limits which fourth-century sculpture observed, and aims at a kind of effect unknown before the Hellenistic period. The original must have been a splendid work, deserving most, though not all, of the admiration once

lavished upon this statue ; even the copyist (who lived in the second century A.D.), utterly uninspired and lifeless as his work is, has not wholly emptied it of its dignity and grandeur.

The Apollo was found towards the end of the fifteenth century, we know not where, and brought to the Vatican by Giuliano della Rovere (who was already its owner) when he became Julius II.

93 is part of a sarcophagus of the Antonine age, with hunting scenes, 94 a copy of a Greek relief inspired by the balustrade of the Temple of Athena Nike at Athens.

Over the doorway, outside the cabinet, notice an elegant frieze showing the train of Bacchus—clearly a Hellenistic composition.

On the E. side of the Cortile there is little to notice. 98 and 27, decorated with griffins and Satyrs in low relief, are the two halves of a table-support (*trapezophorus*) ; in the original design the Satyrs were endeavouring to push each other away from the drinking-bowl. 28, an oval sarcophagus, has for its decoration an effective composition of dancing Satyrs and Mænads, skilfully put together from well-known types. On the porphyry column (101) stands a bust of Nerva ; it is difficult to say whether it is ancient or modern. The sleeping Nymph (30) rests on the sarcophagus of Sex Varius Marcellus, father of the Emperor Heliogabalus.

We now enter the cabinet which contains the works of Canova, which were placed in the Belvedere in 1811, when the Apollo and the Laocoon were in Paris. The Perseus, holding the head of Medusa in his outstretched L. arm, is an obvious imitation of the Apollo : the boxers, Damoxenus and Creugas, need a word of explanation. According to the story told by Pausanias, Damoxenus slew his adversary by a foul blow, and was therefore deprived of the crown of victory by the judges. Canova has endeavoured to hint at this by representing Damoxenus as a low, brutal type. Nothing can help us better to appreciate the gulf which separates ancient from modern sculpture than to compare these works with those which they replaced. The Apollo is

dramatic : the Perseus melodramatic. The Laocoon is awe-inspiring : the boxers repulsive. With all the resources of modern anatomy, Canova could not produce the impression of living flesh which the seeing eye of the Greek enabled him to convey.

On the N. side of the Cortile, notice (39) a second-century sarcophagus representing a Roman commander to whom barbarian captives are being brought ; on the narrow ends are groups from a triumphal procession (captives driven or carried) in low relief. It belongs to the same class as that which we saw in the Museo delle Terme.

Above it is (38) a relief showing a battle of gods and giants. We have seen other portions of this frieze in the Lateran (p. 239) and the Antiquarium (p. 254). There is some reason for thinking that it may have come from the Temple of Tellus (the earth-goddess, mother of the giants) not far from S. Pietro in Vincoli.

The statue of "Venus Felix" (42) in the niche has a portrait head, and *may* have represented Faustina the younger, wife of M. Aurelius. It was long supposed to be a portrait of Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, wife of Severus Alexander, but cannot be as late. The type is one derived by late art from the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, with the addition of the figure of Eros.

43, a Dionysiac sarcophagus pieced together from many fragments, was found in the Catacomb of S. Calixtus, and shows how such pagan works were employed in Christian cemeteries.

A medallion portrait (of some Greek literary man) on the column 45A belongs to a class of works used for the decoration of ancient libraries. 48, a late sarcophagus, with a doorway in the centre, represents husband and wife with masks at their feet and Muses at their side ; they evidently had literary tastes.

Below is (49) a sarcophagus representing the battle of the Greeks and Amazons before Troy. In order to emphasise the importance of the central group—Achilles and Penthesilea—the artist has represented them on a larger scale

than the surrounding figures. The busts of husband and wife on the lid date the work unmistakably to the third century.

In the corner cabinet is (53) the so-called **Antinous of the Belvedere**, really a statue of **Hermes**, which presents some points of similarity with the Hermes of Praxiteles at Olympia, and was clearly inspired by a study of that artist's works. The style of this copy—and still more that of a replica in the British Museum—points to an original in bronze. The figure in the British Museum wears winged sandals, and it is possible that the restorer of this statuette who has spoilt the shape of the legs and ankles, may have removed such traces of them as he found. Like a similar figure found on the Greek island of Andros, this statue doubtless had its place in a tomb, and represented either Hermes the Conductor of Souls, or the departed under the guise of the divinity : hence the expression of melancholy which caused the name of Antinous to be given to it. The original can hardly have been later than the close of the fourth century B.C.

55 is a relief, executed by a Roman artist of Hadrian's time, in a conventional style reminiscent of Egyptian art, which represents a procession in honour of Isis.

56, a wretched copy of a statue of Priapus, the god of gardens and fertility, is only interesting from its subject.

On the wall above 58 (a reclining grave-statue of Flavian date) is a much damaged, but interesting relief, of which there is a better preserved replica in the Naples Museum. The seated figures are **Aphrodite and Helen**, who is listening to the persuasive entreaties of the goddess on behalf of Paris (the figure seated on the pillar behind her is that of **Peitho**, the goddess of persuasion). **Paris** in his turn is accompanied by the winged Love-God ; and behind him the statue of the Amyclæan **Apollo** indicates the scene of the action (near Sparta). The group of Paris and Eros is reproduced on Attic vases which are hardly later in date than 400 B.C., and there is much to be said for the view that the original composition was a **painting** of the fifth century B.C.

On the small sarcophagus (61) stands a fragment worthy of attention, which represents a Nereid riding on a hippocamp: as it is made of Italian marble, it must be a copy (but a very good one), from a decorative Hellenistic original. The statues which stand in the open court—mostly female portraits of late date—need not detain us. They often reproduce motives of drapery derived from Greek art, but in so degraded a form as to lose all their beauty.

We now pass into the **Vestibule** (entrance opposite to the Sala degli Animali), in which is a fine basin of *pavonazetto* and one or two good *torsi* (7 a seated female figure, probably Aphrodite, 5 from a replica of the statue restored as Commodus in the Braccio Nuovo, p. 322). Notice, too, an inscribed *Cippus* (under No. 7) with the figure of a *Diadumenos* taken from the famous statue of Polyclitus. On the balcony, from which there is a fine **view**, is an ancient vane.

Turning first to the L. we find ourselves in front of the statue of **Meleager**; we have seen a much finer replica of the head in the Villa Medici. The L. arm once held a spear, and this, together with the dog, and above all the boar's head, leave us no doubt as to the meaning of the figure. The boar's head however, is, probably, the drapery certainly, a copyist's addition: some, indeed, think that the figure was originally intended as a nameless hunter. The head is clearly in the *style* of **Scopas**: the statue may bear the same relation to the master's work as the so-called Antinous does to that of Praxiteles. The copy is a lifeless one and has suffered from modern polishing.

The curious torso (11) enwrapped with a network of woollen fillets represented a prophet (or even Apollo himself). 18 is a female figure with a musical instrument like a zither in her lap. 21 is a fine head of **Trajan**, found in the harbour which he caused to be dug at Ostia. It stands on a block with reliefs on two sides which evidently formed the corner of a frieze. On the front is represented a **Roman warship** manned by fully-armed marines and bearing the ensign of the Crocodile. This has given rise

to the supposition that the monument to which the frieze belonged (it was found in the sanctuary of Fortune at Præneste) may have been set up in commemoration of the battle of Actium ; the style would be consistent with such a date. The details are accurately rendered. Above, on the wall, is a singular relief from a large sarcophagus which represents a **harbour**, with ships, swimmers, etc., and the surrounding buildings. The human population is figured on a small scale ; the larger figures are those of divinities (the heads of two are roughly blocked out, so that if required they could be turned into portraits). The interpretation of these figures is difficult, but the two principal ones seem to be Dionysus and Ariadne. The figures in front of the temples are those of the divinities worshipped therein. We cannot identify the harbour : the old view that it was that of Carthage, with Dido and Æneas, cannot be maintained.

Proceeding in the opposite direction, we come to the *Atrio quadrato*, which contains (3) the famous **Torso of the Belvedere**, signed by the Greek artist "Apollonius the son of Nestor the Athenian" in characters which point to the last century B.C. Apollonius, if a copyist, was a copyist of no mean order ; and it is very likely that his work—even if inspired by that of earlier masters—is an original. The interpretation and restoration of the torso present an unsolved and perhaps insoluble problem. If the skin which covers the rocky seat and the head laid on the L. thigh are those of a lion, then the subject is of course **Heracles** : and if so, he was most probably playing the lyre, which was supported on the L. leg ; or he may have been resting both hands on the end of his club. Many authorities, however, hold that the skin is that of a panther : the statue is then interpreted either as **Polyphemus**, who is shading his eyes with his L. hand and gazing at Galatea (a far-fetched notion), or **Prometheus** modelling the first man in clay. The rendering of bodily form is very different from that of the Laocoon, probably a contemporary work, and the two are worth comparing. The Rhodian group (or at least its central figure) is eminent in its accuracy of detail : the

torso is treated in the ideal style which the artist had doubtless learnt to admire in the Parthenon sculptures. The masses of flesh and muscle are broadly indicated without insistence on detail—note that veins and sinews are omitted ; but we feel that the artist, though he has achieved great things within his self-imposed limits, is an imitator rather than a creator, and as such is scarcely worth of the extravagant admiration which Michelangelo, Winckelmann, and many others have lavished upon the torso—an admiration which, had they lived to see the very handiwork of Attic sculptors, they would have reserved for them alone.

In the niche to the R. of the torso is the **Sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus**, found in the tomb of the Scipios, whence come also the inscriptions by which it is surrounded, and the head (like the sarcophagus, of *peperino*) which stands upon it. The sarcophagus is in the form of an altar, decorated with simple architectural forms (frieze of triglyphs and metopes, etc.). The epitaph is in Saturnian verse—the native form of Italian poetry, based not on quantity, but on accent. Its meaning is as follows :—“Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus (“the bearded”), the son of his father Gnæus, a man brave and wise, whose outward form was matched by his inward virtues, who was consul, censor, and ædile amongst you [i.e. the Roman people], captured Taurasia and Cisauna in Samnium, subdued all Lucania and carried off hostages.” It is not likely, however, that these verses were written until long after the death of Scipio. On the *cover* of the sarcophagus are faint traces of the original inscription, painted in red, but not engraved ; this only gave the titles of the deceased. Again, the Latin of this inscription is demonstrably later in its forms than that of another referring to the *son* of Scipio Barbatus (who was consul in B.C. 298). The great fame of the family (and probably also the inscription) dates from the Hannibalic war. Now look at the head which stands on the sarcophagus, that of a youth wearing a wreath of laurel. It has been thought to represent the poet **Ennius**, who sang the praises of Scipio Africanus and had his statue in the tomb of the family, as we learn from Cicero ; but that was

of marble (and may therefore have been placed there at a later time). The bay-wreath seems to point to a priest of Apollo, and in point of fact one of the inscriptions mentions a Scipio who attained the dignity of a *decemvir sacris faciundis* or Keeper of the Sibylline Books—a priesthood attached to the service of the Delphic god. He lived in the middle and latter part of the second century B.C., when we know that *peperino* was used in Rome for statuary (cf. p. 256), and may be the person represented.

The reclining female figure (of the Antonine period) is from the lid of a sarcophagus which faithfully reproduces the shape of a low wooden couch with bronze plates at the corners.

We now descend a flight of steps to the long gallery of the **Museo Chiaramonti**, arranged for Pius VII by Canova. It contains more than seven hundred pieces of sculpture, which vary greatly in merit, not many being of the first rate importance. There are thirty compartments, which will be described in succession ; the numbering begins at the further end.

Compartment XXX. On the L. is a herm (734) bearing the name of Solon : the head placed on it is, however, a poor portrait of Epicurus. On the wall (733) a cast of the relief with three female figures which we saw in the Museo delle Terme (p. 202), in which has been inserted a fragment of the central figure belonging to the same group.

Compartment XXIX. To the L., in the lower row, notice (705) a statuette of Odysseus carrying a wine-cup which he is about to present to Polyphemus—part of a Hellenistic group. We saw the corresponding figure of Polyphemus in the Museo Capitolino (p. 106). 702 is Antoninus Pius, 699 possibly the young Emperor Gordian III (A.D. 238–44), 698 probably Cicero, although not very close in its resemblance to the Capitoline bust (p. 119) ; in the upper row, 693 is a copy of the Heracles of Scopas.

Opposite, notice (708) a fragmentary relief which shows a young Satyr turning round to inspect the growth of his tail ; by its means we are able to interpret and restore the

statues which represent the same subject (cf. p. 202). The heads in the upper row are unimportant ; in the lower row notice (719) a copy from a first-rate Greek portrait ; 725 is not quite so good.

Compartment XXVIII. To L. 683 is a statue of Hygieia (with a cast of the head of the "Calliope" in the Sala delle Muse), once grouped with Asklepios, as the remains of his arm show. 682 bears a fine head of Antoninus Pius. 686 (to R.) may be mentioned, since it was supposed to represent the Vestal Tuccia, who proved her innocence by carrying water from the Tiber in a sieve; but the sieve in this case is the work of a restorer.

Compartment XXVII. Notice to L. on the wall, two fragments (642, 644) of relief belonging to two panels, on each of which are three maidenly figures ; other portions of the same panels have been identified at Florence and Munich. On 644 the maidens are Goddesses of the Dew, worshipped at Athens under the names of Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse ; all that is left of the third figure is the R. hand with the pitcher, from which the dew is streaming. 642 belongs to a slab on which the Hours were represented, dancing hand in hand. The originals were of the fourth century. Notice, too, 643, which is earlier in style (it is copied from a fifth-century relief), and shows us the earth-goddess giving the child of Hephæstus, Erichthonius, one of the primitive divinities of Athens, into the care of Athena. Amongst the heads, etc., on the shelves, notice 652, a replica of the head of the Old Centaur of the Capitol. It wears a wreath of vine-leaves, but this is an addition of the copyist (just as the sculptor of a copy in Berlin added an ivy-wreath). 653A has been thought to be a portrait of Antonia, the daughter of Mark Antony and mother of Claudius. 655 represents Narcissus looking at his reflection in the water. Opposite, notice on the upper shelf 667, copied from a good Greek portrait, and 669, a small head of Aphrodite, believed by some to be a piece of original Greek work ; in the lower row (671) a herm of the bearded Dionysus—the type is now thought to have

been the creation of Alcamenes, the pupil of Phidias, and to have been in origin intended as "Hermes before the Gate," on the strength of an inscription found at Pergamon. 674 is supposed to be a portrait of Severus Alexander.

Compartment XXVI. To L. the Imperial statue (635) bears the head of a third-century prince, who has been conjecturally identified as Philip junior, son of Philip the Arabian (A.D. 244-7); in any case it illustrates the brutal, barbaric type of the emperors of that time. 636 represents Heracles with his little child Telephus, the son of Auge exposed by her father on the Arcadian mountains and reared by a doe. It cannot fail to strike the observer that Heracles is paying no attention to his long-lost son; the fact is that the figure of the child is an addition made by the sculptors of Pergamon, where Telephus reigned as king according to the local myth. The original type seems to date from the fourth century: it has been attributed—on very insufficient grounds—to Praxiteles.

Opposite is (639) a statue characteristic of the later Imperial period. The portrait-head represents (probably) Julia Soæmias, the mother of Heliogabalus; the body is a variant of an Aphrodite type, which we have just seen in the Gabinetto delle Maschere. 638, on the other hand, is a fine piece of work—a Greek original, which it is instructive to compare with the wretched statue beside it. It represents a maiden flying from her pursuer—the motive challenges comparison with those of the Niobid group, but this is earlier in date.

Compartment XXV. To the L. 596 is a fragment of the composition (Dionysus visiting a poet) which we saw on the base in the Sala dei Busti (p. 296). 593 and 594 are Greek work, but of inferior merit. Among the heads notice 598, a Greek philosopher; 600, Augustus (early in his reign); 602, a Roman of the Republic; 605, a Greek—doubtless a writer—of the time of Trajan, as is shown by the form of the bust (p. 37); 607, a fine head of Poseidon (from a Hellenistic original in bronze), embodying a characteristic ideal of the Sea-God.

Opposite, 619 is a good female portrait of the Early Empire ; 620, an ideal type of the fifth century B.C ; 621, a Caryatid ; 624, possibly Trajan as a youth ; 625, Antinous as Attis ; 628A, Augustus ; 629, a portrait of the early third century A.D.

Compartment XXIV. To the L. 591 is a statue of a type used for heroic figures with a good head of Claudius (which does not belong to it). On the R. 588 is a *pasticcio* put together by a Roman copyist from two types (Dionysus and a Satyr), which have nothing to do with each other, a fact which is painfully obvious. 587 (Ganymede and the Eagle) is a dull copy of a pretty Hellenistic creation.

Compartment XXIII. To L. on the wall are two fragments of relief which seem to be of Greek workmanship. 549 represents a girl decorating a building ; 551 is a seated philosopher like the Anaximander of the Museo delle Terme (p. 202). On the shelves are some **good Roman portraits**. 554 (upper row) represents Antoninus Pius towards the close of his life ; 555 was once called Pompey, and has more recently been identified with Nerva ; it has more claim to be regarded as a portrait of that Emperor than most of the busts which pass for such ; 556 is of early Antonine date. In the lower row, 559 is a boy of the time of M. Aurelius ; 560 is a good Flavian portrait ; 561 a first-rate one of Trajan's time—probably the best in existence which dates from that period. Notice particularly the **form** of these two **busts**, which enables us to date them, as the heads have never been broken off. 562 represents the best work of the early third century ; 563 is a fine portrait of the late Republic. Thus **all periods of Roman portraiture are here represented** (except the latest), and the traveller should pause to study their characteristics. Below 561 is a grave-altar with beautiful Augustan decoration.

Opposite are (567–569) three **Mithraic** reliefs. The middle one depicts the slaying of the bull, with busts of sun and moon in the upper corners, and torch-bearers (named Cautes and Cautopates) at either side ; these are often found on such reliefs. 567 represents Zervan (Greek Kronos), the

divinity of Infinite Time in the Mithraic religion, with a lion's head and a snake encircling his body ; 568 gives us part of the usual subject (note the bull's tail ending in ears of corn) with side-scenes, such as we frequently see and often find it hard to interpret ; 573 (below) is a statuette of Zervan. The heads are unimportant ; notice (580) the statuette of an old woman (with modern head), a Hellenistic work ; the fashion in which she wears her cloak perhaps points to Egypt, i.e. Alexandria.

Compartment XXII. To L. 543 and 545 are late *torsi* made for Imperial statues in which head, arms, etc., were separately made. On 543 has been set a head copied from a good fourth-century original ; on 545, a poor portrait of Tiberius ; 544, Silenus (very like Socrates), and a panther, probably wrongly restored, belongs to an early Hellenistic school. Opposite, 547 is a colossal bust of Isis wearing the Egyptian headdress called *calvatica* ; it is said to have been found in Hadrian's villa. It can scarcely be called a work of art.

Compartment XXI. To L. the fragment of a grave-monument with figures of husband and wife (500) is of the Antonine age : contrast it with the "Cato and Porcia" of the Sala dei Busti. Amongst the heads, notice (507) a Polyclitan athlete head, and next to it (508) a **portrait of Menander**. In the lower row, 509 is a poor copy of the Meleager, 510A and 512 two **first-rate** examples of **Republican portraiture**, with its unsparing realism. 511A is a good replica of the head of the Hera Barberini (No. 546 in the Rotunda). 516C (below) is a gracefully decorated fragment of a marble seat.

Opposite, 531 is a portrait of an Attic general of the fourth century (poor work). 535 is the head of a **Gaul** belonging to the same group of monuments as the Dying Gaul of the Capitol and the Gaul and his wife of the Ludovisi collection ; but it is far more realistic than either of those works.

Compartment XX. On the L., 494 is a notable statue of Tiberius, found at the ancient Privernum (a country town of no great importance) which represents him in his earlier

years, idealised under the form of Jupiter. 493 is a portrait of a boy of the third century A.D. and a good piece of work for its time. For 495 compare the Eros in the Capitoline Museum p. 108. Opposite, notice 497, a fragment of a large sarcophagus, representing mills turned by horses ; there are **traces of painting**, which was used to supply the missing part of the horse to the L.

Compartment XIX. To L., notice on the upper shelf (460) a torso of Apollo in the robe of the *citharædus* for the sake of its technique ; the tunic is of alabaster, the girdle of *giallo antico*, the cloak of red and white marble. Below is (465) the fragment of the figure of "**Penelope**" by which we are enabled to correct the restorations of the figure in the Galleria delle Statue. The workmanship is good. 464 a group of Mithras and the bull, is in *bigio*. The hound (467) is a good piece of work.

Opposite, 472 (though a poor copy) represents an early Greek original, probably of the Peloponnesian school. 475 is a fairly good portrait of about the time of Claudius.

Compartment XVIII. 449, a commonplace Roman portrait-figure, is to be noted as illustrating Roman, not Greek fashion in dress. 450 is much restored, but the head is that of Polyclitus' *Doryphoros* (p. 321) and the torso is of the same period. 451 (Aphrodite or a Nymph) is a pretty fourth-century type ; the herm is restored. 453 (to R.) may have been an Imperial statue ; the head set thereon is Meleager (a bad copy).

Compartment XVII. On the lower shelf, observe (418) a female portrait of the Early Empire, probably of a princess of the reigning house, between two charming busts of children (417, 419), clearly brothers. With them was found 423, a still finer piece of work. Note that **Augustan** artists were peculiarly successful in their portraits of **children**. 420 is shown by the close-fitting cap to be **Hephæstus** (Vulcan) ; notice the want of symmetry between the two sides of the face. It has been conjectured to be a copy from Alcámenes, the pupil of Phidias. In any case, it is a finely characterised ideal of the god of craftsmen. 422 is Demosthenes. 424,

found with the three boys' heads, is also of Augustan date, as is shown by the form of the bust ; the short beard is, however, not that of a Roman. 424B has been called Sulla, and this is just possibly right : the head seems to be of Sulla's time, but to be the work of a Greek rather than of a Roman artist.

Opposite, notice on the upper shelf 431, a head of Menander, 433 and 435, Roman Republican portraits, on the lower 441 a conscientious, if not very lifelike, copy of an extreme fine Greek head often thought to be a portrait of **Alcibiades**. That it dates from the fourth century B.C. (after Alcibiades' death) is no argument against this view ; compare the portraits of Euripides and Sophocles (" Lateran " type). But the head is no portrait ; it is a heroic ideal type, and one of the finest. 439, 443, and the fragments below the shelf, belong to a frieze with Erotes hunting which decorated a domed hall in Hadrian's villa. There are others in compartments XV and III.

Compartment XVI. The two heads (399 Tiberius, 401 Augustus) and the seated statue of Tiberius (400) were found at Veii, and are good and typical examples of the academic official art of the Early Empire.

Opposite, notice 403, a statue of Athena (with modern head) not for its artistic merit, but because the motive is obviously borrowed from a type of Artemis which we have already seen (681) and shall see again (16), to which it is more appropriate. An example of this type (supposed by some to be the original) found at Ephesus is in the British Museum ; doubtless, therefore, the Artemis was also dedicated at Ephesus.

Compartment XV. To L., notice 360, a copy of an archaic Greek relief (first half of fifth century B.C.) representing the **Three Graces**. The original stood outside the Propylæa at Athens, and bore the signature of an artist named Socrates. Hence arose a popular legend that the relief was the work of the philosopher—which is absurd. In spite of all its stiffness and severity, we see in it the dawning of that feeling for beauty and genius for composition which gave

birth (within a century) to such reliefs as that of which we saw a fragment in No. 644. The female head, No. 363, belongs to the same period, but to the Peloponnesian school. 364, an Antonine portrait, illustrates the peculiar treatment of the hair by artists of that time. 366 may be Faustina the Younger, 368 is an old lady, her contemporary. 369 (lower row) is of Augustan date, 371 of the time of Hadrian. 372A, brought from Greece by Morosini (the Venetian who bombarded the Parthenon) was once **supposed** to be a fragment of the **Parthenon** frieze: it is, however, made of **Bœotian** limestone, and was a local work produced under Athenian influence, which bears testimony to the diffusion of the artistic faculty in fifth-century Greece. Note that the bridle of the horse (now lost) was executed in bronze. 374 is a Republican portrait.

Opposite, 383 is a third-century empress (?); 387, wearing a turban, a lady of Trajan's time; below, 392, Hadrian; 393A, a princess of the Julio-Claudian house, once richly decorated with ornaments in bronze (notice the holes).

Compartment XIV. 352 was supposed to be Paris, and so restored with the apple; it is really a Mithraic torch-bearer (cf. No. 567), executed in the time of Hadrian, but adapted from fourth-century types. The seated Nymph (353) was once grouped with two Erotes (notice their feet on the rock); the quiver and bow belonged to one of them. 354 is a graceful and quite *individual* conception of Athena (fourth century, perhaps not Attic) badly copied.

To R., between two conventional portraits (355, 357) of a mother and daughter from an ancient villa at Tusculum, is a poor specimen of Trajanic art—a Dacian captive (cf. p. 253).

Compartment XIII. To L., 300 is a small fragment of a shield decorated with a relief of Amazons in battle. It belonged to a copy of the Athena Parthenos of Phidias, whose shield was thus adorned. Of the animal figures the lynx (313) and panther (315) are the best. To R., 332 might be Marciana, Trajan's sister; 341 represents the moon-goddess.

Compartment XII. 293 is a torso of the *Doryphoros*; 294 is a curious Heracles, which we should attribute to Polyclitus if we had only the torso, and (perhaps) to Lysippus if we looked at the head, so small in proportion. The riddle is unsolved. Opposite, notice 297, a resting athlete, obviously by an imitator of Praxiteles (note the leaning pose and the attitude of the arm, like the Apollo in the Capitoline Museum (p. 124).

Compartment XI. To L., 253 is a good portrait of Titus 256 may be an ideal portrait of a Greek poetess (Corinna has been suggested), 257 is a good copy of a Greek athlete portrait of about 300 B.C.; in the lower row, 259 is a fine Republican head, 261 and 263 are ladies of Trajan's time (the latter very good), 265 a contemporary of Antoninus Pius. Opposite, 285 is reduced from an archaic Apollo, perhaps by Canachus, a sculptor of Sikyon in the Peloponnese, 287 is a prettily conceived but poorly executed figure of a sleeping fisher-boy, 287A a male ideal head of the early Attic school (it has been thought to represent Erechtheus, a mythical king of Athens, from a statue by Myron).

Compartment X. 240 may have been a portrait of a boy-prince, but its head is a cast. 242 (with a modern head) is copied from an archaic bronze Apollo. 241 (found at Otricoli, a moderate piece of work) is hard to explain; it may be a Greek or Italian divinity, or possibly even Isis with the child Horus, and so an Alexandrian work. The colossal head (244, to R.) of a marine divinity was found in Hadrian's Villa. The Muse (245) is a poor copy from one of the figures in the group attributed to Philiscus (p. 292).

Compartment IX. 185 represents a Lar on horseback. On the lower shelf are female portraits, 195A Antonine, 200 Hadrianic. Opposite, notice a fragment of relief from a sarcophagus (214) representing a picnic. The head (232) in *nero antico* belongs to the same class as the "Scipio" of the Capitoline Museum (see p. 118). Notice the two grave-altars, 198 and 230.

Compartment VIII. To L., notice the colossal head of

Athena, copied from an Attic original by Phidias. The eyelashes are restored (rightly) in bronze, the eyes in glass—they were made of precious materials.

Opposite, the uppermost of the two sarcophagi (179) can be dated by its inscription to the first ten years of M. Aurelius' reign (A.D. 161–170). The scenes represented are from the legend of Admetus and Alcestis—the wife in Euripides' tragedy who was rescued by Heracles when about to die in place of her husband; in the centre, Alcestis on a couch with her mourning family, to R. Admetus, Heracles, and Alcestis (veiled) at the gate of Hades; notice the dog Cerberus, the Fates in the background, and at the end Pluto and Persephone. The figures to L. belong to the central scene (Apollo with the tripod, etc.). Note that Admetus and his wife are clearly portraits of the deceased. Contrast the execution of this sarcophagus with that of 180 (below it), which belongs to the following century (Dionysus and Ariadne, and landscapes). 181 is the triple-bodied Hecate—"Diana of the Crossways."

Compartment VII. To L., on the upper shelf, notice especially 135, a fine and characteristic head from a statue of a Roman statesman (not Cæsar, as some have thought) of the late Republic—the *toga* drawn over the head shows that he was sacrificing. 136 is some three centuries later. Below, 141 and 143, are of Hadrian's time (note the shape of the busts). 140 is a Greek philosopher. Of the ideal heads, 139 reproduces the type of Heracles by Polyclitus, 144 a bearded Dionysus by the fifth-century artist, to whom we owe the portrait of Pythagoras in the Capitoline Museum (p. 119), 145 most probably an Eleusinian divinity.

Opposite, 152 is a fragment of relief which represented a triumphal procession. The spoils were carried on stretchers (as those of Jerusalem on the arch of Titus). In the lower row, 165 has been explained as a barbaric type, but is really a badly executed head of Venus drying her hair (cf. p. 299). 166 is a replica of the head of the charioteer in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

Compartment VI. To L., 120 is a Hadrianic adaptation

of an early Greek female type (found in Hadrian's Villa) 121 a poetess (with a head like those of the Muses of Tivoli), 122 a charming type of Artemis the Huntress, which has been claimed both for Praxiteles and Lysippus, and described as a Greek original. It is later in date than either of those artists, and, whether by a Greek artist or not, is a copy from bronze. To R. 124, a late and bad portrait-statue has the head of some Claudian prince set upon it.

Compartment V. To L., on upper shelf, 75 is a head with the mask of a comic actor. 79 a fragment of a group representing Scylla and one of the companions of Odysseus (cf. the Polyphemus group, p. 106). Below, the replicas 83 and 86 (differently restored) represent Hygieia. 87 is a graceful statuette of Eros wearing the lion's skin of Heracles (from Hadrian's Villa). Opposite, 107 may be a portrait of **Julius Cæsar** (unfortunately the nose is restored and the face has suffered from over-cleaning). 114, the statuette of a Roman boy, is of a good period and worth noticing.

Compartment IV. To L., 63 (with a poor head which does not belong to it) is derived from an Attic Athena of the late fifth century B.C. There is reason to think that the original was by Alcamenes, the pupil of Phidias, and that the L. hand rested on a shield (the motive of the L. arm in this and other copies is glaringly inconsistent with the style and date of the original). Opposite is the entrance to the Braccio Nuovo (busts of Augustus and Trajan on either side).

Compartment III. To L. contrast 20, a fragment of second-century ornament, with 22, obviously a Renaissance work. Below, 26 is Septimius Severus, 30 Antoninus Pius, 35 Titus. 28 is a head (with an exaggerated expression of pain) belonging to the Amazon type which we shall presently see in the Braccio Nuovo. Opposite, 54 (lower shelf) is a good Flavian portrait; 60 may belong to the same period. The family group below (60 E), like the "Cato and Porcia," represents the *lower art* of the Early Empire.

Compartment II. To L. 14 represents a bad attempt to do what the copyist of No. 120 (see above) achieved success-

fully. 15 is a very fair specimen of a Roman portrait-statue draped in the *toga* (with a head of Antonine date). As to 16, see on No. 403. The statues opposite are poor.

Compartment I. 2 (Apollo) and 5 are good specimens of early Imperial bas-reliefs. 6 and 13 (opposite) are personifications of Autumn and Winter (heads modern, that of 6 copied from the "Tragic Muse" at the entrance of the Rotunda). They were found in a villa in the Campagna. 12 is a fragment of relief with figures of three gladiators, well characterised.

We now turn back and enter the **Braccio Nuovo**. Before we review its contents in their numerical order (beginning on the R. of the door) let us look for a moment at No. 126, the third statue on the L. This is a copy of the *Doryphoros* of Polyclitus (cf. the heads in the Museo Barracco, p. 186 ff.), and is as typical of fifth-century athletic sculpture as the *Apoxyomenos*, which we shall see in a few moments, is of the fourth. The original was of bronze (without the heavy support which is necessary in marble) and represented a youth shouldering a spear. Notice first the **pose**. Archaic Greek sculpture (like that of Egypt and the East) represented the human figure perfectly upright, with the legs motionless and strictly parallel, like a pair of columns: in the fifth century sculptors felt their way to a freer pose, which introduced a contrast between the functions of the limbs in rest and motion, as well as between the muscles of the upper part of the body, when relaxed and in tension. Polyclitus' solution of the problem was a very individual one—the R. leg bore the weight of the body, the L. was thrown back, producing the appearance of a figure just pausing in its walk. Ancient critics remarked that his statues seemed to be "all of one pattern." They also criticised his system of **proportions**—which in its day was deemed so perfect that this statue was called the "Canon"—saying that his figures were too squarely built, as indeed they appear to us. Notice, lastly, the **absence of expression** in the face; Polyclitus aimed at solving a problem of *form*, not at embodying a spiritual conception.

We will now take the several monuments in order, beginning to R. of the entrance. 1 is a herm of Dionysus (with plaster head), 2-4 Roman portraits of small merit. 5 (with modern head) is a poor copy of one of the **Caryatids** which supported the roof of the porch of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis at Athens—the original has been removed to the British Museum. We know that there were such Caryatids in the original Pantheon of Agrippa (p. 173), but this cannot be one of them. The function of the figure in supporting a light entablature is just indicated, but not exaggerated, by its pose and the fall of its drapery. 7, a poor replica of the head of “Melpomene” in the Hall of the Muses, shows clearly that the original of both was of bronze. 8, a Greek portrait-statue in hunting costume, has had a head of Commodus set upon it. 9, the head of a Dacian captive, is from Trajan’s Forum. It is coarsely executed, and was meant to be seen from a distance. 11, a statue of Silenus playing with the infant Bacchus, must have been a famous work, as several replicas are known: the pose, and the shape of the support, recall the colossal Heracles at Naples, which (as we know) was inspired by (not copied from) that of Lysippus; the *spirit* of the statue is rather that of Praxiteles. Perhaps it was the work of a master influenced by both. 12 is a good third-century bust, which illustrates the fashion of wearing the *toga* under the Later Empire. The folds on the breast were carefully arranged in flat bands like planks—hence the name *contabulatio*. The *pallium* as a Christian vestment, in its latest form, was derived from a garment similarly worn.

14 deserves special notice. It is a statue of **Augustus** found at **Prima Porta**, where his wife Livia had a villa. He is represented as *Imperator*, in the act of addressing his assembled legions—yet with a touch of idealism in that he is bareheaded and barefooted. From the features we should infer that he was past middle age when the portrait was made; and the reliefs on the cuirass—which are full of calculated symbolism—enable us to assign a date to the statue. At the top is Cælus, the sky-god, rising from the

clouds ; below, to his L., the chariot of the Sun ; to R. the goddess of the Morning Dew (note the pitcher, and compare the relief in the Museo Chiaramonti, No 644) bearing a figure of Dawn. To the Heaven above answers Earth below—a mother-goddess with her children, holding in her hand the horn of plenty. But the significant figures are reserved for the centre of the cuirass. Here we see a Parthian handing over a legionary standard to a youthful figure, fully armed, shown by his faithful war-dog to be Mars. We are reminded of Augustus' great diplomatic triumph, the restoration (in 20 B.C.) of the standards taken by the Parthians from Crassus on the fatal day of Carrhæ (53 B.C.). But we can date the statue later than this. To R. and L. sit two mourning women, personifying the conquered nations of Gaul (to R. ; note the dragon-trumpet and the boar on the standard) and Spain (to L. ; the sword is characteristic). They refer to Augustus' pacification of the West, completed in 13 B.C. and celebrated by the erection of the Ara Pacis (p. 184). Finally, the Eros and dolphin which prop the R. leg remind us of the divine ancestry of the Julian house, sprung from Æneas the grandson of Aphrodite. We can detect traces of **colour**, still bright when the statue was found in 1863, but fast fading. Pink, blue, red, brown and yellow were freely used ; the cuirass was to be imagined of gilded metal adorned with enamels. The sculptor was doubtless sought amongst the masters of the craft, and his work gives us no mean idea of Augustan art. The weakest point is perhaps the drapery.

17 is either a statue of the youthful Asclepios (Æsculapius) or a portrait of a physician of the Antonine period, idealised under the form of the god of healing and therefore differing in such a detail as the plain eyeballs from the ordinary portrait of the time.

18 is a very good head of Claudius, with the somewhat pathetic expression which we often notice in his portraits ; 20 has been restored with a plaster cast of the head of Nerva in the Cortile del Belvedere ; 21 is a good portrait of the time of Septimius Severus or Caracalla, 22 resembles the

head of the archaic Apollo in the Salone of the Capitoline Museum, No. 20 (see p. 122), and may be copied from a work of the same artist.

23, a Roman grave-statue, reproduces a favourite type of draped figure, created probably by the Rhodian sculptor Philiscus (whose Muses have already been mentioned) in the second century B.C. ; it is conventionally termed "Pudicitia," i.e. Modesty.

24, an archaic type, is in nearly all respects identical with a head (85) in the Room of the Philosophers, but once had horns ; it therefore probably represents a river-god, while the Capitoline bust may be meant for Apollo.

26 is a statue of Titus—the "darling of the human race"—which was found together with No. 111 opposite ; this latter figure has naturally been identified with his daughter Julia, beloved and deified by Domitian, but the resemblance of the face to her coin-types is not close.

27 (of which 100 opposite is a cast), 40, and 93 are effective heads of Medusa used in architectural decorations, apparently from Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome.

In the recess which follows are grouped several statues, chiefly of Satyrs, which served as fountain-figures and garden decorations in Roman *villas*. The two seated Satyrs (32 and 33) were composed as pendants, and the same is true of the Nereids (34 and 35) ; these were found in a villa facing the falls of the Anio at Tivoli. 38A (the boy-Satyr playing the flute) was a very popular type, dating from early Hellenistic times ; 38B¹ is Narcissus, and belongs to the same period.

37, **a daughter of Niobe**, is the finest of all the extant figures belonging to copies of a well-known group of statues representing the tragic fate of the Niobids. The original group was brought to Rome from Asia Minor by Sosius, a Roman military commander, in 35 B.C., and stood in the Temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius, where it became one of the famous sights of Rome. The art-critics of the Empire disputed whether it should be assigned to Scopas or Praxiteles—from which we may surely infer that it was not

the work of either of those artists, though doubtless by some nameless sculptor inspired by them (more particularly by Scopas). In the centre of the group was Niobe herself, clasping her youngest daughter in her arms in a vain endeavour to shield her from the arrows of Apollo ; there are copies (but not first-rate ones) of this and other figures at Florence (and some scattered in Roman museums, p. 110). It is hard to say how the figures were arranged ; they stand on a rocky, uneven surface, but will not fit into a pediment. The one before us is a splendid example of the treatment of drapery in broad masses, and were it not that the surface of the plinth is smooth (the rocks were omitted by the copyist), we might assign it to the original group. The replica at Florence is less simple in its drapery, and as it is a poorer copy, we must suppose that it was made from a later rendering of the figure. This one must clearly be closer to the fourth-century original. Observe how far removed we are from the pathological detail of the Laocoon, which illustrates a legend of the same tragic significance.

The fine **vase** of basalt in the centre of the gallery was found on the site of the house of Atticus (the friend of Cicero) on the Quirinal, the mosaics on which it stands at Tor Marancia (see p. 348).

41, a statue of Apollo the lyre-player (head restored), belongs to a school with whose work we are already acquainted (see on No. 495 in the Sala delle Muse): the drapery of this figure is remarkably like that of the Victory of Pæonius, a Thracian sculptor, discovered at Olympia.

The four female busts which follow can be dated by the fashion of their hair ; 45 (the best) is Claudian, 42 Flavian, 46 late in the second century, 43 fairly early in the third.

44 is a copy of the **Wounded Amazon of Cresilas** ; on this see p. 123. 47 must be compared with No. 5 ; note the greater freedom of pose and drapery which shows this to be a later adaptation of the motive. It was found (with others, one signed by two Neo-Attic artists, Criton and Nicolaus) on the Appian Way, in a sanctuary built by Herodes Atticus (a famous Athenian millionaire of the second century A.D.)

in honour of his wife and Faustina the Elder, whose priestess she was.

48 is a very good portrait of Trajan, 49 a excellent portrait of the late Republic on a third-century bust.

50 represents the moon-goddess Selene, conceived as approaching the sleeping Endymion. 52 has been thought to be a portrait of Matidia, niece of Trajan and mother-in-law of Hadrian.

53 is a finely conceived statue of a **tragic poet**—one could easily believe it to be that of Æschylus which stood beside the Lateran Sophocles (p. 235). The poor portrait of Euripides which has been set on it is much too small for the figure.

54 is a good portrait of the Emperor Pupienus, one of the two set up by the Senate during its brief tenure of power in A.D. 238, but shortly afterwards murdered.

56, with a portrait-head which might be that of Julia, the daughter of Titus, is derived from a fine Attic Athena of the fifth century, which was of bronze. There is a well-known replica at Deepdene.

58 (with a strangely modern expression) may be Soæmias, the mother of Heliogabalus ; 60 is an extremely fine portrait of a famous Roman (there are other examples) whom we cannot name, a contemporary of Julius Cæsar. 61 may be Crispina, the wife of Commodus.

62 is a portrait of **Demosthenes**, copied from that by Polyeuctus, which was set up by the Athenians in 280 B.C. We are told that the orator was represented with clasped hands ; and in 1901 the hands of another copy were found, which show that this one is wrongly restored. Note the thin, wasted body and keen face, bearing manifest traces of the life-long struggle waged by Demosthenes with natural disadvantages and implacable enemies.

63 is a remarkable example of the Renaissance of portraiture under Gallienus, and closely resembles a head in the Capitoline Museum (p. 126) ; 64 is a good female portrait of the time of Augustus.

67 is a unique copy of the bronze **Apoxyomenos** of **Lysippus**—the masterpiece of fourth-century athletic sculpture.

The essential difference between this figure and the Doryphoros of Polyclitus, which we have just seen, lies not so much in the altered scheme of proportions (the head accounts for $\frac{1}{8}$ instead of $\frac{1}{7}$ of the total height) as in the rounding and modelling of the forms—there are none of the sharply divided planes of the earlier statue, nor are we confined to a single point of view in regarding it. The athlete is represented in the act of scraping himself with the *strigil* after exercise, and the die in the R. hand is due to a blunder of the restorer. The face has more expression than those of Polyclitus' statues, and comes nearest to those of Scopas amongst Lysippus' contemporaries. The original was brought to Rome by Agrippa to adorn his Baths (p. 172).

Turning back towards the entrance, notice 69, a good portrait of Trajan's time, and 72, a head of Ptolemy, the grandson of Cleopatra and last king of Mauretania, who was summoned to Rome by Caligula and put to death for the sake of his vast treasures. Next to it is 71, a copy of the **Amazon of Polyclitus**; as to this see p. 123, and notice the characteristic pose of the legs. 76 seems to be a portrait of Gordian III (A.D. 238–244).

77, a portrait-statue of Augustan date, conjectured to be Antonia, the wife of Drusus and mother of Germanicus and Claudius, is noteworthy for its drapery, copied from a fourth-century type. 81 is a faithful, not idealised, portrait of Hadrian. 83 is an almost precise replica of the Hera Barberini in the Rotunda (p. 278).

Notice 86, a figure which has two replicas (though with different attributes) in this gallery—Nos. 59 and 74. We see how Roman copyists adapted a famous Greek type—in this case one of the early fourth century B.C.—to various uses.

87 is a very good portrait of the time of Caracalla, 89 has had a head of the aged Sophocles set upon it; 90 is perhaps Faustina the Younger (or her daughter Lucilla), 91 a lady of Trajan's time. 94 (restored as Ceres) is shown by the woollen fillets on the shoulder to be a statue of a priestess; it is, like No. 120 in the Museo Chiaramonti (p. 319), adapted from a fifth-century type.

In the recess on the R. let us first of all notice the busts. 97A is one of the masterpieces of Roman Imperial art; it has been dubbed "**Mark Antony**," but is really of the Flavian period, as is shown by the unbroken shape of the bust. The treatment of the hair might suggest a later date, but there is no mistaking the "impressionist" touch of the artist who hits off a character—intellectual, yet sensual—with a few strokes of the chisel. 98 (above) may be Julia Domna; 100 is a youthful Marcus Aurelius. 102 is a modern head of Augustus, placed here to complete the supposed triumvirate, for the "Mark Antony" is balanced by a "Lepidus"—No. 106; here the bust form is Trajanic, but the portrait seems to be a little later (Hadrian introduced the fashion of wearing the beard). The other busts are either modern or of little importance.

Amongst the athlete types, notice that 99 and 103 reproduce the same original (the head of 99 belonged to a duplicate of 105, that of 103 is modern)—a youth holding up an oil-flask in his L. hand and letting the fluid trickle into his R. palm; 105 belongs to the same school, but is a slightly later work; the subject was an athlete scraping his L. wrist with the *strigil*. Both *pairs* of statues (counting the head of 99 as one) stood in the same villa at Tivoli as Nos. 32–35. 101 is clearly akin to the Doryphoros of Polyclitus, but it is hard to be sure if it actually reproduces a work of the master himself.

Now turn to the colossal figure of the **Nile** (109), found in 1513 on the site of the temple of Isis in the Campus Martius; the Tiber, now in the Louvre, was discovered not far off. The first clearly represents an original product of Alexandrian art—the second a pendant executed in Rome itself. The impish crew of children—sixteen in all—typify the sixteen cubits through which the Nile must rise in order to fertilise the soil of Egypt. Do not omit to notice the low reliefs on the plinth, which portray the river itself and its animal and vegetable life, with pygmies in boats. The genius of the artist has redeemed from triviality the frigid conceit which is embodied in the group; and the majestic figure of

the river-god must be pronounced the masterpiece of Ptolemaic sculpture.

112 is a fine head of doubtful interpretation, generally described as Hera, but by others supposed to be Persephone or Selene, since it seems too young for a matronly goddess. The original can hardly have been earlier than 300 B.C.

114 is known as the Athena Giustiniani; it has already been mentioned on p. 112. The replica in the Capitol has no ægis, and perhaps this was added by the copyist in this case. The original was of bronze, and from the severity of the type we must date it in the fifth century B.C.—the influence of the art of Phidias seems unmistakable. The ideal of the maiden goddess is finely conceived.

116 is a first-rate portrait of the late Republic—it recalls the features of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the grandfather of Nero. 117 bears a good head of Claudius. 118 is a Dacian, like No. 9; it is said to have been found in Trajan's harbour at Ostia. 120 is a poor copy of the "Marble Faun," 121 a head of Commodus in the characteristic technique of his time. On 123 is set a portrait of Lucius Verus (cf. p. 288).

124 is one of the finest third-century busts in existence, and represents **Philip the Arabian**, Emperor A.D. 244-7. It shows that, in spite of increasing poverty in technical resource, Roman sculptors were still able to depict craft and cruelty with unerring hand. (The head of 125 is a modern copy from that of the Apollo of the Belvedere.)

127 was the finest of the heads of Dacians found in Trajan's Forum, but has suffered much at the hands of a modern *scalpellino*. The cap (*pileus*) was only worn by the Dacian aristocracy; the racial type is admirably rendered.

129 is a statue of **Domitian**—one of the few portraits of that much-hated Emperor which are preserved. The type should be compared with that of No. 14 opposite; but note that the historical figures on the cuirass are absent. Instead, we have the emblems of land (Nymph and ox) and sea (Dolphin and Triton). The features are those of a man more cultured but less benevolent than Vespasian and

Titus. 130 is another portrait of the time of Gallienus (cf. 67). 132 is an effective fourth-century type of Hermes ; the head (which does not belong to it) is a good replica of that of the "Antinous" of the Belvedere (p. 306). 133 is a faithful portrait of Julia Domna.

135 (restored rightly as Hermes) would be of little interest but for the fact that it bears the signature of Zeno of Aphrodisias, one of a school of sculptors of whom we have already heard (p. 114). It is a purely decorative work (like Nos. 65 and 67A, which are similar).

Passing out of the Braccio Nuovo, we see on our R. the entrance of the **Galleria Lapidaria**, which contains an important collection of Latin inscriptions and a few interesting sculptures.

In Compartment XLVII, notice the use of the "Pudicitia" type as an ornament, apparently for a tombstone. Observe several sarcophagi with plain flutings and figures only in the middle and at the ends—a frequent type. On 169 (Compartment XXXIX) the husband and wife are seen in the centre ; it is a good piece of second-century work ; on 159 (Compartment XXXVII) their place is taken by Victory writing on a shield. In Compartment XXXV notice (147) a grave-altar with reliefs representing on one side a smithy, on the other a cutler's shop. The Mithraic monuments in Compartment XXXIII were found at Ostia. Compartment XXXI contains several tombstones of *equites singulares*, a mounted bodyguard instituted by Trajan and formed of Germans. In Compartment XXIX, 128 is an interesting tombstone with a relief showing a piece of artillery (no doubt with improvements invented by the deceased, Vedennius Moderatus, who served under the Flavian emperors). In Compartment XXVI notice 115A, the tombstone of a man and wife, whose portraits appear in front ; on the L. side they are seen instructing their children. In Compartment XXIV, 101 is the torso of a Triton which formed a pendant to that which we saw in the Galleria delle Statue (p. 289). In Compartment XIX, 83A is the tombstone of a boy (second century A.D.) represented with the at-

tributes of Apollo. 80A, a family group, has *modern* inscriptions over the heads.

Returning to the Museo Chiaramonti, we may obtain admission to the **Giardino della Pigna** (entrance to L. just before ascending the steps to the Belvedere). The sculptures preserved here are for the most part of minor importance, but there is a group of monuments by the R. wall which should be noticed. The **Pigna** itself, a colossal bronze pine-cone, is traditionally held to have adorned the summit of the original Pantheon; not only, however, is there no evidence of this, but it seems to have been from the first used as a **fountain**, being full of holes through which jets of water streamed. Probably it stood in or near the temple of Isis in the Campus Martius—this region was called “Pigna” in the Middle Ages; thence, at some unknown date, it was transferred to the “paradisus” or fore-court in front of Old St. Peter’s, where it stood under a canopy supported by columns. When it was removed to the Belvedere by Innocent VIII, it had long ceased to serve as a fountain. It bears a thrice repeated inscription which tells us that the maker was called P. Cincius Salvius. It rests on a large **figured capital** decorated with athletic types.

On either side of the Pigna are placed bronze **peacocks** (once gilt); they seem to have stood by the entrance of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, and thence to have been removed to the fore-court of Old St. Peter’s and used to decorate the canopy over the Pigna. The peacock was in Pagan times the symbol of apotheosis, in Christian times that of immortality.

Behind the Pigna is the **pedestal** of the **Column of Antoninus Pius** (cf. p. 184), found in 1703, removed to the Vatican gardens by Pius VI, and placed in the Giardino della Pigna by Gregory XVI. The column, set up by M. Aurelius and L. Verus in memory of their adoptive father, was of plain granite, crowned by a statue of the deified Emperor. There is a remarkable contrast between the style of the relief on the front and that of those on the sides. The first is a conventional scene of apotheosis.

Antoninus and Faustina are borne aloft on the wings of a youthful ideal figure, accompanied by eagles on either side. Below them are seated (R.) Roma, whose shield is adorned with the Wolf and Twins, and (L.) a youthful figure holding an obelisk—the Campus Martius. The style is that of Hadrianic classicism. On the sides are realistic representations of the *decursio*, a cavalry manoeuvre executed during the ceremony of consecration. The ensigns carried by the central figures are those of the prætorian guards. Here we have new principles asserting themselves, which were to carry Roman art further and further away from the classical standard. The figures seem almost like marionettes.

On the E. side of the court notice (52) a colossal head, much restored, ideal in type, and beside it (53) a “province” like those which we saw in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

Returning to the Sala a Croce Greca we may ascend the staircase in front of us, reaching a landing from which (on the R.) we enter the circular domed hall called the **Sala della Biga**. It takes its name from (623) the **Biga** or two-horse chariot of marble which stands in the centre of the room. The body of the car—gracefully decorated with ears of corn and poppies springing from acanthus plants—was for centuries used as an episcopal chair in S. Marco. The pole adorned with pearls, fillet, and branches of bay (inside the car) is a symbol of tree worship. The horses are almost wholly modern.

Proceeding from R. to L. notice first (608) a fine statue of the **bearded Dionysus**, commonly known as “Sardanapallus” from the inscription (certainly not due to the artist) on the edge of the cloak. The R. hand should be restored with the *thyrsus*. It has been ascribed to Alcamenes, to Cephisodotus (the father of Praxiteles), or to Praxiteles himself. So far as the date is concerned, the second of these artists suits the style of the statue, and especially of the drapery, best. Below it is (609) a sarcophagus representing Erotes chariot-racing; there are two similar ones (613, 617) in the room.

610 again represents Dionysus, but in a very different way. The almost effeminate forms of the youthful god point to the Hellenistic age.

611, copied from a bronze athlete-statue of the fifth century, which represented a runner, received the name of Alcibiades because its head (mostly restored) was thought to resemble the supposed portrait of that statesman in the Sala delle Muse.

612 is a fine example of Roman drapery ; it represents a priest in the act of sacrifice, with the *toga* drawn over his head, and dates from the close of the Republic (the head does not belong to it). As the statue is made of Pentelic marble, and may have come from Greece, it is possibly the work of a Greek artist, who found a congenial task in portraying the ample folds of the Roman *toga*.

615, the effect of which is marred by the props introduced by the copyist, reproduces a bronze of the later fifth century (and the Attic school) ; the subject is an athlete placing himself in position for the throw of the **discus**—just before the body-swing which will bring him into the attitude of No. 618, which represents Myron's more famous statue ; on this see p. 219. (The discus would first be transferred to the R. hand.) The artist may have been Alcamenes.

616 was called Phocion because the head of an Athenian general (whom we cannot identify) was set upon it. It really represented **Hermes**, wearing a broad-brimmed hat and holding the *caduceus* in his L. hand, and is copied from a fifth-century original.

On 618 see above ; remember that the modern head is looking forward instead of backward at the *discus*. The inscription with the name of Myron is modern.

619 is a **charioteer** (*auriga*), wearing the costume used in the races of the circus ; the knife was used to cut the reins in case of accident. The head was lost—we must imagine it with the aid of those which we have seen, p. 218 ; that which has replaced it is derived from a Polyclitan type.

620 is copied from a Greek portrait-statue, probably of

the fourth century, but bears a Roman head of the second century A.D., wrongly identified as Sextus, the Stoic teacher of Marcus Aurelius. Below it is (621) a sarcophagus representing the mythical chariot-race between Pelops and Cœnomaus at Olympia, with details—such as the *meta*—borrowed from the Roman circus.

Leaving the Sala della Biga, we turn to the R. and enter the **Galleria dei Candelabri**, so-called from the ancient marble candelabra which flank the arches by which it is divided into bays. The monuments on the R. will be described first, then those (returning) on the L. in each bay.

First bay. 1 is a vase of *breccia verde*; 2 (much restored) a bird's nest containing children, used as a garden decoration. 11 is a torso of the Satyr pouring wine, after Praxiteles, which we saw in the Ludovisi collection (p. 207); 45 (opposite) is a head of the same type. 19 recalls the boy playing with nuts in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 140). 21, a marble vase, poorly executed, has interesting reliefs showing Lycurgus, king of Thrace, attacking the worshippers of Dionysus. 26, a toe from a figure estimated to have been forty-eight feet high, *may* have belonged to one of the statues in the Temple of Venus and Rome (p. 79).

The candelabra (31, 35) were found at Otricoli. On the base of 31 we see Apollo, Marsyas hanging on a tree (with his pupil Olympus), and a slave sharpening the knife for his punishment.

To L., notice 52, a resting Satyr, in green basalt, used to imitate the *patina* of bronze.

Second bay. 74, which represents Pan pulling a thorn out of the foot of a Satyr, is (though poor in execution) a good example of a Hellenistic fountain-group. 81 (from Hadrian's Villa) reproduces the barbaric form under which Artemis of Ephesus, the great nature-goddess of Asia Minor, was worshipped in later antiquity. It has usually been supposed that this type was a primitive one, but recent excavations have shown that in early times Artemis was represented at Ephesus in the natural human form, so that the Greeks seem to have borrowed this almost repulsive con-

ception from their Asiatic neighbours. 83 is a sarcophagus similar to that in the Lateran (p. 239) with scenes from the myth of Orestes, the murder of Clytemnestra and Ægisthus in the centre, the three Furies to L., Orestes at Delphi to R. The designs are so much superior to the execution that they have been thought to be derived from paintings. 87, a barbarian in Oriental costume, is rightly restored as a decorative support for a vase, and may be compared with 90, where three Sileni perform the same function : note that the wine-skins which take the place of cushions on their shoulders served as spouts for the fountain. 93 and 97 once stood in S. Costanza ; the figures of Erotes with which they were decorated have been partly destroyed by Christian hands. To L., 113 is a sarcophagus illustrating the legend of Protesilaus, the first of the Greeks killed at Troy, and afterwards restored to his wife Laodamia (for a brief space of time) in answer to her prayers. On the R. side we see the punishment of Sisyphus, Ixion, and Tantalus in Hades.

118A, a small group representing **Ganymedes** carried off by the eagle to be the cupbearer of the gods, is undoubtedly a reduced copy from a famous bronze work by the Attic sculptor Leochares, and as such has a value far beyond its artistic merit. The impression of skyward motion is well given ; the L. arm of Ganymedes should be shading his eyes from the dazzling sun. The supposed resemblance in style to the Apollo of the Belvedere, which has led many archæologists to attribute that statue to Leochares, is non-existent. (Contrast the ancient treatment of this legend with that of No. 104, a modern work.)

100 is an example of the fantastic capitals used in later Roman architecture.

The third bay contains sculptures, etc. (notice the wall-paintings of floating figures of the type common at Pompeii) found at Tor Marancia (p. 348), and others of greater importance. 131 is a mosaic with still-life subjects in brilliant colours. 134A is a modern copy of a *puteal* or well-head (now in Madrid) with Bacchic scenes, placed here as a pendant to 134C, which shows Hermes

bringing the child Dionysus to the Nymphs. 134B deserves attention as an adaptation of early Greek types to the uses of Roman religion. As its inscription shows, it represents **Semo Sancus**, an ancient Italian divinity identified with **Dius Fidius**, the god who protected the sanctity of oaths, and was dedicated by the college of priests who presided over the ceremonial burying of thunderbolts. The *type*, however, is that of an archaic Apollo, with a free rendering of the nude. 135 (head restored) is from a Greek portrait-figure which may be compared with the Posidippus and "Menander" of the Galleria delle Statue. 137 is best interpreted as a statue of the Roman goddess **Libera**, the consort of the wine-god Liber, identified with Dionysus. The artist has sought his inspiration in the art of the fifth century: the drapery recalls that of Phidias and his school. The candelabra, 157 and 219, are from S. Agnese, and though the upper part is different the bases agree with those of 93 and 97, so that they probably belong to the same set. To L. notice 148, a Hellenistic figure of a Satyr carrying a child (perhaps the baby Dionysus) on his shoulders, and 149A, as to which see on the "Eros of Centocelle" (p. 289); in this case Thanatos is indicated by the torch.

Fourth bay. 162, a statuette of Victory leaning on a trophy and placing her foot on a ship's prow, is derived from a monument of the Hellenistic period set up to commemorate a victory by sea. 166 is a graceful candelabrum adorned with the attributes of Artemis. 176 and 178 are replicas of the young Satyr looking at his tail, of which we have already spoken (p. 202). 177, an aged **fisherman**, is one of the best examples of the **realistic** tendency in Hellenistic *genre* sculpture, for which we should compare the drunken old woman of the Capitol and the Shepherdess of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 140). The reliefs (much damaged) of the *puteal* (179) represent the punishment of the Danaids, eternally filling a leaky jar and that of Oknos, which we have already seen (p. 241). 183 is part of a figure of **Kronos** (identified with Saturn); in his R. hand he held the stone wrapped in swaddling-clothes which was given him to

swallow in place of Zeus. 184 is a reduced copy of a famous bronze by **Eutychides**, a pupil of Lysippus, representing the **Fortune of Antioch** on the Orontes (founded in 300 B.C.). The river-god at her feet is restored with uplifted arm, but should be swimming. The conception is eminently graceful, and even so poor a copy as this can help us to appreciate the formal merits of early Hellenistic sculpture; its defects are those common to all allegorical representation. The crown of towers, the ears of corn, the mountain (Silpios) on which the goddess sits, the river-god, are so many external symbols added to what might be a charming *genre* figure (like the terra-cotta figurines of Tanagra) in order to transform it into a divinity; the religious spirit is entirely lacking. The reliefs of the candelabrum (187) represent (in archaistic style) the contest between Apollo and Heracles for the Delphic tripod. (190 is a cast of the largest work of the kind in existence, which was removed by Napoleon and never restored). To L. notice 198, a *puteal* with figures of shades disembarking from Charon's boat, 194, a copy of the "boy with a goose" (p. 127); 200, an "archaistic" statue of Apollo transformed by the restorer into an Artemis (the quiver has taken the place of the lyre); 203, a variant (without wings) of the type represented by 189, 204, a sarcophagus with the slaughter of the Niobids, similar to that in the Lateran (p. 239); and 208 (found in the Basilica at Otricoli), which represents a prince of the Julian house.

Fifth bay. 222 is a careful copy from a Peloponnesian original in bronze of the middle of the fifth century B.C., representing a **girl-runner** about to start in a race, such as those in which Spartan maidens took part. The restraint and simplicity of early Greek art are here seen as clearly as in the "boy extracting a thorn" (p. 144), which belongs to much the same period and school. On the L., notice (246) a fountain-figure of Pan, adopted from a Polyclitan type (in this case the shepherd's pipe has been replaced by a vase), and 234A, a fragment of relief found on the Palatine, with the figure of a **child-Satyr drinking**, which we have seen on the large landscape relief in the Lateran (p. 232). This

is a much finer piece of work. 240, an Ethiopian slave carrying his master's *strigil* and oil-flask, is a clever but repulsive study of the racial type.

Sixth bay. 38 is a statue of Artemis, which recalls by its drapery the Athena Parthenos of Phidias, but is somewhat later. The head, however, is from a type of Phidias' school. On the sarcophagus (253) with Selene and Endymion is placed (253C) a female statuette of early Hellenistic date, which shows fine workmanship, though injured by restoration. As a study of drapery it is of outstanding excellence. It may have represented Persephone. 257 represented Ganymedes *before* his rapture, and is therefore wrongly restored with the wine-cup. He should be shading his eyes with the L. hand. On the L., 261 has been claimed as a copy of the famous **Paris** of **Euphranor** (but see p. 290), and many replicas of it are in existence; but it may have been intended for Ganymede. 264 is a figure from the Niobid group (p. 324). 269 is a sarcophagus with scenes from the story of Castor and Pollux, who overcame Idas and Lynceus and carried off their affianced brides, Hilaira and Phœbe. On it stands (269C) the statuette of a **Persian** from one of the groups dedicated by Attalus I of Pergamon on the Acropolis of Athens (see p. 214). The group to which this figure belonged represented the battle of Marathon. 37, a portrait-figure of one Pompeia Attia, has a head set on it which seems to have worn a laurel-wreath and perhaps to have been a portrait of a poetess.

From the landing on which the Sala della Biga and Galleria dei Candelabri open we enter the **Museo Gregoriano Etrusco**, in which we may make the acquaintance of that **Etruscan art** which exercised so profound an influence on early Rome and bequeathed to Roman art the **realism** which blended so strangely with the ingrained idealism of the Greeks. This strife of opposing tendencies is illustrated in the **first room** (or entrance-hall), where the recumbent figures from the lids of sarcophagi found near Toscanella, with their minute rendering of details (ornaments, etc.) contrast with the attempt to reproduce a Greek model

in the sarcophagus of *nenfro* (a volcanic stone quarried in Etruria) made the slaughter of the Niobids. The horse's heads in the same material stood on either side of the entrance to a tomb.

In Room II is a collection of **ash-chests** made of alabaster and travertine, found for the most part near Volterra and Chiusi. Here we see the figure of deceased on the lid ; the front is decorated in relief with scenes from Greek mythology (notice 56, the race of Pelops and Œnomaus, cf. p. 334) ; 61, Paris and Helen embarking for Troy ; and 86, Actæon torn by his hounds) or from the demonology of the Etruscans themselves (44 and 67, a demon conducting a horseman, i.e. the dead man). Note the bright colours used. On the cases are several realistic portrait-heads in terra-cotta.

In Room III are some inscribed monuments, notably a tomb in the form of a circular temple. The meaning of the **Etruscan inscriptions** can often be guessed, but the affinities of the language are not yet determined.

Room IV contains some excellent examples of sculpture in **painted terra-cotta**. The statue of **Hermes** in the middle of the room (from a Hellenistic type) and the fragments of female figures (211, 234, 266) were found near Tivoli. 215, a sarcophagus upon which lies stretched a figure of **Adonis**, wounded in the thigh, with his faithful dog by his side, is the finest of its kind. The splendid decorative frieze (154-6) on the L. wall is said to have come from Cervetri (Cære). There are also good examples of **architectural terra-cottas**, some of archaic style (e.g. 170, 246, and the winged Pegasus in the middle of the back wall).

Rooms V-VIII contain the collection of **Greek vases**. These were imported into Etruria from the eighth century B.C. onwards ; local imitations are few in number, and easily distinguished by their poor drawing. The **forms** of these vases are admirably adapted to their uses. The *amphora*, used for holding oil and wine, had a wide mouth and two upright handles ; the *crater*, or mixing-bowl, was bell-shaped, with handles near the bottom ; the *hydria*, in which

water was carried, had two horizontal and one vertical handle, and a shoulder making sharp angles with neck and body; the *œnochoë*, or jug for pouring wine, had a high, gracefully curved handle and often a trefoil mouth; the *cylix* was a shallow, two-handled drinking-cup (deeper bowls were called *scyphi* or *canthari*); the *lekythos*, or oil-flask, was a tall vase with a narrow neck and mouth. The progress of Greek art is traceable in the **decoration** of the vases. At first we have bands of animal and human figures, almost purely ornamental, in **black on a light ground**: then the figures acquire names and the subjects are taken from mythology, and the background acquires a warm red tone, while the black silhouette is enriched with inner markings by means of incised lines. Towards 500 B.C. a great innovation was made by **Athenian** potters, who reversed the colours, drawing the outlines of their **figures** on the **red** clay and filling in the **background** with **black**. The artists of this school often signed their names on the vases—especially the drinking-cups, or *cylices*; and from the study of such works we are able to distinguish the styles of several vase-painters and to attribute unsigned vases to them. The great merit of these craftsmen resides in the **sureness of touch** with which their drawings are executed and their innate instinct for **beauty of line**, both in single figures and in composition; the conventional style of their paintings recalls the severity of archaic sculpture. The progress of art in the fifth century is reflected in the growing freedom of drawing; but the gulf between high art and mere industry becomes gradually wider. After 400 B.C., with the economic decline of Athens, vase-painting for export gradually ceases, and **Southern Italy** becomes the most important centre of manufacture.

In the centre of **Room V** is a circular vase without handles (called a *deinos*) on a high stand. Its decoration consists largely in rows of animals; in the topmost band, however, we have a mythical scene—the hunt of the Calydonian boar—on one side, and on the other, a fight over the body of a dead warrior, which only needs inscriptions to make it an

illustration of Homer. In the wall-cases we have first of all **Corinthian** fabrics, identified by the alphabet and dialect of their inscriptions; notice 5, which has the names of Ajax, Hector, and Æneas painted beside the figures, although there is no passage in Homer where these three heroes are brought together precisely in this way. No. 7 shows us a boar-hunt with fancy names (Dion, Polyphamos, etc.). We then come to **Attic** black-figured vases. 10A is signed by the artist **Nicosthenes**, a large producer of vases distinguished rather by the elegance of their form (they are close imitations of bronze) than by the interest of their subjects, which are generally Dionysiac. 12 (Athena fighting with a Giant) has the inscription "Nicostratus is beautiful"—typical of many found on Attic vases, often giving the names of men celebrated in Athenian history. In this room have lately been placed specimens of the **hut-urns** found in the Alban hills (cf. p. 177) and **stucco reliefs** (notice 168) from a tomb of the second century A.D.

In the centre of **Room VI**, notice a large Attic amphora (signed by Exekias); on one side are Ajax and Achilles playing at dice; on the other, Castor and Pollux returning home. This is one of the masterpieces of the black-figured technique, which in the hands of Exekias became highly conventional; note the elaborate ornamentation of the heroes' cloaks made with incised lines. Amongst the vases in cases, notice 51, which is of **Ionic** workmanship (i.e. made in W. Asia Minor), and 70, which shows the sale of an olive crop—the owner exclaims: "Would God I might become wealthy." Between the windows are five "**Panathenaic**" amphoras, given as prizes in contests at Athens; and in the window-cases some Italian imitations of later Greek vases, made in Campania, with Latin inscriptions.

In the **semicircular gallery** (VII) are red-figured vases of the larger forms. Those of Attic make, such as 84, an amphora with the single figure of Achilles; 99, a *hydria* with a representation of Thamyras, the mythical Thracian singer (note the beginnings of an indication of landscape); 97, Apollo sailing over the sea on his tripod, etc., contrast

favourably with the large amphoræ with volute handles, such as 89 (grave-monument and funeral banquet), 117 (Orestes at Delphi), etc., made in Apulia and Campania in later times. 121 represents the most interesting class of these vases—those with scenes from the theatre, and especially from the burlesques of Greek mythology performed at Tarentum and elsewhere ; here we see the visit of Zeus to Alcmene, the wife of Amphitryon, who became the mother of Heracles.

In **Room VIII** we see the **cylices** in which the art of the Attic vase painters found its highest and most characteristic expression. In the first glass case are those of the earlier styles ; notice (275) one in the interior of which are depicted **Prometheus**, bound to a pillar, and his brother **Atlas** upholding the world (inspired by a passage in Hesiod). It has generally been supposed that the group of vases to which this belonged were manufactured in the sixth century B.C. at **Cyrene** in N. Africa, but recent excavations have shown that a similar fabric was made at **Sparta**. Among the black-figured Attic cylices is one (258) signed by Pamphaios ; notice the large **eyes** with which the outside is decorated. In the second case are the red-figured cylices ; note their increasing elegance of **form** as compared with those with black figures. Although signed vases by the great masters are wanting, we can recognise the style of **Brygos**, distinguished by the delicacy of its drawing, in 225 (a symposium), 227 (Hermes stealing the oxen of the sun), and 174 (warriors arming). A remarkable cylix with **Jason** vomited forth by the dragon might be by **Euphronios**, the most original of these vase-painters.

In the centre of the room stands a beautiful Attic *crater* of the fifth century with **polychrome decoration** on a ground of **white** pipe-clay, which may help to give us a faint impression of the painting of the time. The main subject is the presentation of Dionysus by Hermes to Silenus and the Nymphs ; on the back we see three Nymphs or Muses, two with stringed instruments and one about to dance.

In the window-cases is a collection of ancient **glass** and **enamels**. The glass mosaics (so-called "*millefiori*" glass) have been thought to represent the lost "Myrrhine" fabric spoken of by ancient writers.

In the wall-cases are examples of the **black ware** (*bucchero*) made in Etruria (on the upper shelves), as well as Greek vases of various forms; note in the first case a beautiful *œnoché* or jug with **Menelaus** pursuing **Helen**, dropping his sword; Aphrodite and Peitho ("Persuasion"), are in the background. The subject is also found on one of the metopes of the Parthenon. On the wall above are copies of Etruscan wall-paintings, with scenes partly from Greek, partly from Etruscan legend.

Returning to Room VI, we turn to R. into **Room IX**, which contains a large collection of the **bronzes** for which the Etruscans were famous. (There are also some specimens of Roman work, such as 173, a fragmentary portrait-statue, 174, 200, and 206, remains of a colossal statue of Neptune from Civitá Vecchia). The great majority of the objects are articles of household use or ornament, many of which would now be manufactured in less durable materials, while none would possess a tithe of the artistic value belonging to the products of Etruscan industry. Notice especially, by the back wall (57), a censer on wheels, (155) a bed, and (69) a trumpet; opposite the third window (207) a *cista* like that in the Museo Kircheriano, engraved with scenes from the Gymnasium; also the **mirrors** with engraved designs, usually mythological or Etruscan inscriptions. Statuary is well represented by (313) a warrior known as the **Mars of Todi**, bearing an Umbrian inscription, but no doubt an Etruscan work; (329) opposite the middle window, a statuette of a boy wearing the *bullā* or amulet (with Etruscan inscription), and (283) a similar statuette of a boy holding a bird. These may be ascribed to the third century B.C. 16 (by the exit) is copied from a Greek type of the Hellenistic period.

The revolving case in the centre of the room contains the treasure found in a tomb of the seventh century B.C. at

Cervetri (Cære), known as the Regulini-Galassi tomb. Additional fragments have been recovered in recent excavations. This tomb (like that at Palestrina, whose contents are in the Museo Kircheriano) was rich in **gold ornaments**, which show strong **Oriental** influences, and the **silver bowls** of **Phœnician** workmanship are not wanting. The bronze **chariot** (205) is of the fifth or fourth century B.C.

In another case are a collection of objects found at Pompeii in 1849. Amongst them is a **Greek relief** of the fifth century, representing a horseman.

From Room IX we pass through a corridor containing some small bronzes from Ostia and a collection of leaden water-pipes in **Room X**. In this are three sarcophagi from Cervetri (one with a representation of the myth of Clytemnestra and Orestes) and pottery, etc., from Chiusi. On the walls are hung copies from Etruscan tomb-paintings which illustrate the gradual progress of art under Greek influence. In **Room XI**, which comes next, is a collection of antiquities found near Viterbo; notice the **gold ornaments** of Greek manufacture. Returning to Room IX we pass through the door to the r. of the bronze chariot into **Room XII**. Here we see, besides minor objects of bronze, ivory, etc., a reproduction (in a niche) of an Etruscan tomb-chamber, with three couches upon which the bodies of the dead were laid.

Below the Etruscan Museum is the **Egyptian Museum** (entered from the Sala a Croce Greca). The collection was founded by Gregory XVI, and is chiefly rich in monuments of the **imitative** Egyptian style, which became fashionable in Rome under the Empire. Such objects have chiefly been found either on the site of the Iseum in the Campus Martius (p. 175) or in Hadrian's Villa. **Room I** contains three sarcophagi in black basalt of the "Saite" period (sixth century B.C.), and mummy cases of earlier date. In **Room II** is (25A) the earliest object in the collection, a bust of Mentahotep, a king of the Eleventh Dynasty (about B.C. 2000). The Middle Empire is represented by (22) a fragment of a seated statute of **Rameses II**; the two lions (16,

18) date from the reign of the last of the Pharaohs, Nektanebo II (358-341 B.C.); and 12 is a statue of Ptolemy II, the founder of the library of Alexandria, which stands next that of his wife Arsinoë. In Room III (113) a statuette of a priest holding a small shrine of Osiris, is important on account of its inscription, which relates to the Conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes (525 B.C.) The mummy-cases in the corridor are chiefly of the Saite period; 141 (in the centre case) is the gravestone of an official who had charge of the Great Pyramid. In the room beyond are smaller objects (statuettes, scarabs, etc.); Room VIII contains papyri, Room X Assyrian and other Oriental monuments. Room IX (to R. of Room I) is reserved for **imitative** monuments executed at Rome in the Egyptian style which was especially popular under Hadrian. The most noticeable is (36) a colossal figure of Antinous in white marble. Between the doors is (56) a figure of the Nile.

The Vatican Library (entrance on the ground floor opposite the stairs leading to the Museum of Sculpture) contains some important antiquities. In the **Museo Profano**, which we first enter, are four bronze portraits; they represent (R.) Augustus—an excellent portrait—(L.) Nero; the others are Septimius Severus and **Balbinus**, the colleague of Pupienus (p. 115), a good example of third century portraiture.

By the entrance to the next section are two **porphyry columns** with figures in relief. We see in each case two Emperors (note the laurel wreath, and globe in L. hand) embracing each other. There are two very similar groups in S. Marco at Venice, and columns each with one figure in relief in the Louvre. They were all probably made in Egypt and symbolise the unity of East and West, or merely of two joint Emperors. They may be as early as the fourth century A.D., and illustrate the "Orientalisation of late Imperial art."

In the third room of the **Museo Cristiano** is an important collection of **ancient paintings**. The most famous of these (on the R. wall) is known as the **Aldobrandini marriage**,

found on the Esquiline at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and owned by the family of Clement VIII until it was bought by Pius VII. It was long thought to be copied from some famous original, perhaps by Apelles, the greatest of Greek painters, but the motives seem to have been borrowed by a Roman artist from various sources and combined into a picture with some sacrifice of clearness. In the centre we see (probably) the bride in her parents' home, listening to the persuasive utterance of Aphrodite (this or a similar group is found in terra-cottas of Hellenistic date); Hymenæus, the god of marriage, is seated on the threshold. On the R. are maidens about to sing the *epithalamium*, and one pouring a libation; to L. are others who seem to be preparing a bath for the bride. The composition is like that of a relief, and the figures are widely spaced, but this is no proof of early date. Almost more interesting are the **landscapes** from the **Odyssey** (R. and L. walls) which formed a kind of continuous picture divided into sections by scarlet pilasters in the upper part of a wall. They were found on the Esquiline in 1840, in a house of the early Imperial period, and were probably executed under Augustus or Tiberius. We know that it was a fashion at that time to decorate walls with cycles of mythological paintings, and here we have an example of this practice; but what we notice is that the **landscape**, not the figures, is all-important to the artist, and this shows that the "architectural" style of wall-painting (cf. p. 91) sprang from the effort to open up imaginary prospects into surrounding space. We begin with a series of three pictures of Odysseus and his comrades in the country of the **Læstrygones** (two on L., the third on R. wall). In the first we see the ships of Odysseus in the offing, and three of his companions greeted on landing by the giant daughter of the king, who is carrying a pitcher. Notice the figures of the mountain-god, the nymph of the stream, the boatman who personifies the shore (as the Greek inscription above his head shows), and the three wind-gods in the sky. We shall find these supernatural denizens of the landscape in other scenes. The flocks and

herds seem to owe their presence to a reminiscence of Homer's description of the country of the Læstrygones, where the nights were so short that the outgoing and home-coming herdsmen met on the way to pasture. In the second picture the giants, led by their king Antiphates, are attacking the crew of Odysseus, some of whom have already been slaughtered. Pan and a Nymph, seated on a rock, personify the "Pastures." In the third scene the Læstrygones are destroying the ships of Odysseus with huge blocks of stone. In this picture the landscape is particularly well treated. The following scene, representing the voyage of Odysseus, forms a transition to the next episode in his wanderings—the visit to Circe, whose place (in the next picture) occupies the central point in the wall (notice the perspective of the pilasters, which emphasises this). On the L. we see Odysseus greeted by Circe at the door of her house; in the centre the sorceress, who has failed to cast her spell over him, is kneeling at the feet of the hero. There was another illustration of the story of Circe in the next panel, but it is almost obliterated. We now come (L. wall) to two of the most interesting of the landscapes—those which show Odysseus in the Land of Shades. In the first of these we see his ship to L., then an archway of rock which represents the entrance of Hades. Within is a scene dimly lighted by the rays which pass through the arch. Odysseus has sacrificed the ram, and the Shades are pressing forward to taste its blood. In front of them is the prophet Tiresias, from whom Odysseus is inquiring as to his destiny. Phædra, Ariadne, and Leda are close behind him. The green waters beside which they stand are those of Acheron, and the river-god himself sits on the bank. In the last scene (only half preserved) we see the torments of famous criminals. The daughters of Danaus are pouring water into the vessel which never is filled (they are *not* mentioned by Homer, but have been added by the artist); Tityus is stretched at full length, with vultures gnawing his body. Sisyphus is rolling his stone; and Orion (for it must be he, though the inscription seems

to give a different name)] is engaged in the endless pursuit of his prey.

Below these paintings are hung a series of female figures, known as the **heroines of Tor Marancia** (an ancient villa about one and a half miles from the Porta S. Sebastiano, near the Via della Sette Chiese). Though poor in execution, and probably not earlier in date than the third century A.D., they doubtless reproduce earlier types, for they form a gallery of sinners, driven to crime or suicide by overmastering passion, the conception of which must date back to Alexandrine times. We see them all, however (except Myrrha), in the moment preceding the commission of the fatal act, which is only hinted at by some significant detail. On the back wall are Pasiphæ with the cow fashioned by Dædalus, and Myrrha, flying in horror from an unseen pursuer (her father); to R. Phædra holding the rope with which she is about to hang herself, and Scylla (who betrayed her father to Minos by cutting off the lock of hair upon which his safety depended) standing on the walls of Myra with the fatal lock in her hand. On the L. wall is Canace, holding the sword with which she is about to stab herself—the attitude is that of the daughter of Pelias on the relief in the Lateran, p. 233; and an unnamed figure which does *not* (as was once thought) belong to this series, but was found at S. Basilio, on the Via Nomentana. It is the work of a better artist than the painter of the “heroines,” but has suffered from restoration.

There are also some interesting paintings found at Ostia in this room. The most interesting are those which represent **processions of children**. In one we see some approaching a statue of Artemis (Diana) with lighted torches, while others are carrying busts and bunches of grapes on poles. In the other, the procession is being formed, and a ship on wheels is depicted to L. The “Ship of Isis” was thus conveyed in a spring festival at Rome. Between these paintings is one of a chariot-race with Cupids as drivers. There are also a picture of a ship being laden with grain (her name is *Isis Geminiana*) and a decorative figure of Mars.

Before returning to the L. bank, we may visit the **Mausoleum of Hadrian**, better known as the Castel S. Angelo. Hadrian chose for his tomb a site in the "Gardens of Domitia," and built a new bridge, the *Pons Ælius*, now the Ponte S. Angelo, as an approach to it. This took the place of a bridge built by Nero about a hundred yards down stream, the remains of which are only visible at low water; this fell into disrepair, and was destroyed (at the latest) by Aurelian, as it would have weakened his chain of defences (p. 361). Excavations in 1892 showed that the *Pons Ælius* had originally eight arches, and was approached by a sloping road from the L. bank. Both the bridge and the Mausoleum were practically completed in A.D. 136, and two years later Hadrian was buried there. It was used as the burial-place of the Antonine emperors and their families, as well as by Septimius Severus and Caracalla, who claimed a fictitious descent from Commodus. The later history of the monument, from its conversion into a fortress, cannot here be traced. The mediæval alterations and the building of the *Appartamento Papale* by the Renaissance Popes, have left but little of the structure in its original form. If we enter by the gateway opposite the Ponte S. Angelo and turn to L. we shall find a small museum in which, beside busts of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius and architectural fragments, there is a restored model by Colonel Borgatti which will give the traveller an excellent idea of the ancient monument, with its square base (on the top of which the modern passage runs), its massive cyclinder, faced with marble, decorated with pilasters and a cornice supporting a row of statues,¹ its tumulus of earth planted with cypresses, and the central superstructure upon which a colossal statue of Hadrian in a four-horse chariot once stood. Such at least is the most probable reconstruction, though the details must be uncertain.

¹ We are told that these statues were hurled down by the defenders of the Mausoleum upon the heads of the besieging Goths in A.D. 537; but it is impossible that the "Barberini Faun" at Munich, which was found near the base of the monument, can have been one of these.

Notice the fragments of the marble frieze, decorated with ox-heads and garlands, which ran round the cylinder.

Next observe that the cylinder is faced with huge blocks of *peperino*, which, however, were hidden by marble slabs, of which only a few remain on the E. side. We enter a passage walled with blocks of travertine, which were once faced with slabs of *giallo antico*, at the end of which is a niche for a colossal statue. To the R. is a **spiral passage**, once richly decorated with pilasters and cornice of marble and paved with mosaic, which after making a complete circuit of the cylinder brings us to the central **tomb-chamber**, in the niches on either side of which Hadrian and his wife were buried. The modern stairway crosses the chamber on a sloping bridge and soon brings us to the **Cortile delle Palle**, from which we ascend to the Papal apartments ; what we here see belongs to the history of mediæval, not to that of classical Rome.

XIII

THE VILLA DI PAPA GIULIO

[THIS is the villa built for Julius III (1550-1555) by Vignola, and transformed in 1888 into a museum for remains found in the "Provincia di Roma." The greater part of the antiquities which it contains were found in the territory of **Falerii**, in the neighbourhood of Civitá Castellana, forty miles to the N. of Rome. The Falisci, who inhabited this district, were the nearest kinsfolk of the Latins, and their dialect closely resembled Latin. Falerii was taken by the Romans in 396 B.C. and its inhabitants were removed in 241 B.C. to a new town on a lower site].

To reach the Villa di Papa Giulio we take the Vicolo dell' Arco Oscuro, a turning on the R. from the Via Flaminia, about half a mile outside the Porta del Popolo. In the room to R. of the entrance is a fine Etruscan sarcophagus from Cervetri, with the figures of man and wife on the cover. In the cases are vases, bronzes, etc., from Corchiano (near Falerii). On the walls are copies of Etruscan tomb paintings and of a sarcophagus (now in the museum at Florence) with paintings of a battle between Greeks and Amazons, which are purely Greek in spirit and are valuable for the history of Greek painting. To L. of the entrance is a room containing **architectural terra-cottas** from the temples at Falerii; also a coffin made of a hollowed tree-trunk (like the children's coffins found in the early cemetery near the Forum) from Gabii (in the Campagna).

From the corridor a staircase (on the L.) leads to the upper floor. Here the objects discovered in the Faliscan territory are arranged in chronological order, and furnish an epitome

of the progress of material civilisation in central Italy from the Early Iron Age onwards. In the **first room** (Cases I-V) are vases of **native Italian fabrics**, both black and red; in Case VI we find a few specimens of the ware generally called "**Proto-Corinthian**," exported from Greece at the beginning of the colonising period (700 B.C. and earlier). In Case VII we come to **Italian** imitations of the **black-figured** vases such as we saw in the Museo Gregoriano. Notice in the centre case a **hut-urn** in **bronze**, as well as ornaments in glass, gold, and amber.

In the **second room** are **Greek vases** (black-figured in Case XI to L., red-figured in the following cases). The gradual progress of the art of vase painting is well-illustrated. Notice as a fine example of the severe style a fragment (close to the door leading into the corridor) which belonged to a *psykter* or wine-cooler with high stem, representing **Centaurs** at war with Lapithæ; observe the use of light brown varnish for shading. In the centre case is a beautiful *astragalos*, or vase in the shape of a knuckle-bone, signed by the artist **Syriskos**, and others of the finest period (fifth century B.C.) In Case XXII is a skull with gold settings for false teeth.

In **Room III** we find Faliscan imitations of Greek vases, which may be distinguished by their coarser drawing and by the pale colour of the clay. Note also the sensuous tendency of Italian art and its marked preference for Dionysiac subjects. We often find **pairs** of vases. Thus two *cylices* bear the inscription *foied vino pipaso* (or *pafo*), *cra carefo*, "to-day I will drink wine, to-morrow I shall go without it," and two *stamnoi* (wide-mouthed vases with small handles) have an identical subject (Ganymede, Jupiter, Cupid, and Minerva—names inscribed). In the end cases are vases with a silver glaze on which were gilded decorations in relief.

To L. at the end we enter a **cabinet** containing the treasure found in the tomb of a priestess at Todi (where the so-called "Mars" of the Museo Gregoriano was discovered, p. 343). Besides the **gold ornaments**, some of which were sewn on to a dress, notice the fine **bronzes** in the central

case (lamp-stand, jug, vase with figure of Heracles as handle, drinking-cup with double herm as base).

In an **inner cabinet** are some remarkable specimens of **terra-cotta sculpture** from the pediments of temples at Falerii. Notice the fragments of limbs and drapery with dark painted background and a female figure with a richly patterned mantle ; these are of early date. Much finer are two figures, one male one an Aphrodite, belonging to the Hellenistic period, and but little inferior to original Greek work.

Returning to Room II we pass (to R.) into the upper corridor where are several cases of vases, bronzes, etc., arranged chronologically, from Narce, an ancient town near Falerii and other sites. The vases in Case LXVI illustrate the Corinthian pottery which gradually give place to Attic fabrics.

In the side court (to R. of the fountain) a model of a **temple** has been set up, with the aid of remains found at Alatri (ancient Aletrium, S. of Rome) ; this illustrates the use of painted terra-cotta in early Italian architecture and its vivid colouring.

XIV

THE WALLS OF ROME

ON the "map of historic Rome" (p. xx) are traced both the lines of fortification by which Rome was enclosed. More than six centuries separate the earlier from the later wall; and while the latter is for the most part in excellent preservation (save where it has been destroyed in modern times), the former is only traceable in isolated fragments.

It has already been explained (p. 7) that the tradition which ascribed the great wall of Early Rome to the Etruscan king, Servius Tullius, cannot be maintained. Apart from the evidence afforded by the extant remains, it is clear that when the Gauls took and sacked Rome in 390 B.C., it was, as a whole, an unwallled city; the Capitol, no doubt, had its own defences, and the earliest walls of the Palatine (p. 88) must have been in existence; but for the rest Rome was, at most, protected by earthen ramparts. Livy tells us that in 388 B.C., two years after the retreat of the Gauls, the Capitol was fortified in *opus quadratum*, which surely implies that its earlier defences were less solid. Again, in 378 B.C. we hear of a contract for the building of walls in *opus quadratum*, and we may fairly conclude that this refers to some part of the existing "Servian" wall, which was then gradually brought to completion. We saw that a wall built in the same style may be traced at various points on the Palatine, and were led to the conclusion that it formed an inner citadel.

We find no trace of the "Servian" wall between the Tiber and the Capitol; there were two gates here, one by the river and one on the line of the Via Bocca della Verità. Remains

of it exist on the Capitol, especially in the Via delle tre pile ; but the building of Trajan's Forum destroyed every trace of it in the depression between Capitol and Quirinal. On this latter hill it has been discovered at several points. In the Piazza Magnanapoli a small piece came to light when the Via Nazionale was laid ; it is enclosed in an iron railing and labelled as the " wall of the kings " ; and in the Palazzo Antonelli (No. 158, Via Nazionale, on the staircase to R.) may be seen an archway which (it has been thought) may have been one of its gates—the Porta Sanqualis. Other fragments are in the Colonna Gardens, and in those of S. Susanna and S. Maria della Vittoria, and a small portion was recently discovered in clearing the site for the new Ministry of Agriculture. (Here, beside the " Servian " wall, were found remains of another and an earlier one, made of the volcanic stone called " nenfro.")

It has been explained that the wall took a sharp turn to the S. near the Colline Gate (see p. 197) ; and from this point the builders could no longer take advantage of the natural escarpment of the hill, and were forced to raise more elaborate defences, consisting in an *agger* or embankment, with retaining walls and a ditch on the outside. To this section belong the extensive remains which are to be seen in the yard of the goods station, and are worthy of a visit. The embankment, which was about one hundred feet wide and fifty feet high, seems originally to have had a retaining wall on the inside only ; this was built of greenish tufa and much restored in later times. The **outer retaining-wall**, which is here well preserved, reaches a height of about forty feet, and is a fine example of Roman *opus quadratum* in alternate courses of " headers " and " stretchers." It is clearly seen how it was built in sections one hundred and twenty feet in length, doubtless let out to different contractors. There seem to have been bonding-walls at intervals running through the embankment.

We have met with further traces of the " Servian " *enceinte* on the Esquiline at the Arch of Gallienus (p. 221) and in the neighbourhood of the Auditorium of Mæcenæ. From here

its course is hard to trace, since the buildings of the Empire have obliterated its remains on the Cælian and in the valleys on either side thereof; but there is a large piece of wall on the **Aventine**, about one hundred feet in length, referred to on p. 263. Notice, however, that, as we see it, it has been subjected to much restoration and alteration in later times. The wide arch or window is no part of the original plan, and the concrete backing, which may be seen by climbing the bank at the side, is a proof that it was utilised as part of a late Republican or early Imperial structure.

The **walls of Aurelian** illustrate the ultimate development of the science of fortification in antiquity, just as the "Servian" walls are typical of its earlier stages. They were begun in A.D. 271, when Aurelian had only just succeeded in stemming the tide of barbarian invasion which had swept over Northern Italy, and was about to depart on his first expedition against Palmyra; and though pushed on with the utmost haste, they were not completed until the reign of Probus (A.D. 276-82). In A.D. 402 the defences were restored by Honorius in face of the imminent danger from the Goths; by this time immense accumulations of rubbish had gathered about the walls, and these were not removed, but merely levelled, so that the thresholds of some of the gates were raised by several feet. The walls were again restored by Belisarius, and by several of the Popes; and it was left for the municipality of Modern Rome to begin the process of demolition, which (though for the present checked) will, it is to be feared, lead in time to their disappearance.

Augustus had divided the city into fourteen "regions"; and the circuit was enclosed by a customs barrier at which an *octroi* was levied. Where strategical reasons did not forbid it, Aurelian followed the line of this barrier; and inscriptions relating to the *octroi* have been found close to some of the gates in his wall. But some portions of the fourteen regions lay outside his line of defence. For example, the obelisk which now stands on the Pincio was found at some distance outside the *Porta Maggiore*, where

it had been set up by Hadrian at the entrance of the cenotaph of Antinous ; and this, we are told, marked the city boundary. Again, the first region of Augustus took in the Appian Way as far as the crossing of the brook Almo (now the Marrana), which is a few minutes' walk from the Porta S. Sebastiano ; while in the Trastevere Aurelian only fortified a triangular section of the fourteenth region, having its apex at the gate (*Porta Aurelia*) which is now the Porta S. Pancrazio.

The line of the walls was therefore traced with strict reference to military requirements ; but great skill was shown by the architects both in adapting existing buildings to their use and in avoiding (as far as possible) the necessity of expropriating private owners : the ring of Imperial parks of which we have spoken above (p. 10) furnished a great part of the site.

If we leave Rome by the Porta del Popolo, which has taken the place of the ancient Porta Flaminia, and turn to the R. by the Via delle Mura, we shall find ourselves at the foot of the lofty substructures which support the *Passeggiata del Pincio*. Though their ancient aspect has been altered by modern buttresses, we can see that they consisted in a series of high arcades, dating not from the time of Aurelian, but from the Early Empire ; they were, in fact, raised by the Acilii Glabrones, whose park on the Pincian has already been mentioned (p. 190), and were incorporated by the architects of Aurelian in his wall. At the N.E. angle is a piece of wall in *opus reticulatum* which is inclined at an angle of 6° or 7° to the perpendicular and seems to threaten collapse. It has been in this condition since the time of Procopius (sixth century A.D.) and is called the *Muro Torto*. When the existing substructures ended, the wall was carried along the slope of the Pincian and through the *Horti Sallustiani* (p. 194), which was an Imperial park ; the Porta Pinciana was not one of the principal gates, but a postern, and owes its present form to Honorius. It was the scene of a gallant stand made by Belisarius against the Goths in A.D. 537. From this point

to the Porta Salaria the construction of the wall (which cut athwart the ancient lines of streets and buildings) can be studied both from within (Via Campania) and from without (Corso d'Italia), and, it may be added, the breaches which have been so ruthlessly made in this section in recent years have at least shown something of its internal structure. It is built of brick-faced concrete with filling chiefly of tufa, but also of sculptured and architectural fragments, and is on the average about thirteen feet thick. For about the same height it is massive; above this there is a sentinel's passage with a continuous arcade on the inner side, about twenty feet high. The roof of this passage formed an open platform, with a crenellated parapet now destroyed. At intervals of about thirty yards there are rectangular towers which project about ten feet on the outside of the wall; they had two chambers—the lower level with the sentinel's passage, the upper with the platform, and originally rose some twenty feet above the top of the curtain.¹ This system of defences agrees with the rules laid down by ancient writers on the art of fortification—except that they recommend that the sentinel's passage should be separated from the towers by drawbridges.

The towers of the Porta Salaria were destroyed in 1871, and it was then found that three tombs—one that of the "infant prodigy," Q. Sulpicius Maximus (p. 140)—had been *enclosed* in the masonry of the wall. Another tomb, that of the famous orator Q. Haterius, who died in A.D. 26, was found to be enclosed in the eastern tower of the Porta Nomentana, destroyed in 1827 (a little to the W. of the modern Porta Pia). Beyond the Porta Pia (Viale del Policlinico) are two small posterns (closed) in the wall, which here skirts the garden of the British Embassy; a breach was made in 1892 for the passage of the Via Montebello, and it was found that a house of the first century A.D. had been simply buried in concrete, cut down to the thickness of the wall and incorporated therein.

¹ One of the best preserved is between the opening of the Via Piemonte and that of the Via Basilicata.

We now come to the remains of the **Castra Prætoria**, or camp of the prætorian guard, built in A.D. 23 by Tiberius at the suggestion of his favourite, Sejanus—a visible symbol of the reign of the sword—but partly dismantled by Constantine, who finally disbanded the prætorians in A.D. 312. Three sides of its walls were made part of the defences by Aurelian builders, who raised their height some ten to fifteen feet. If we go round the outside of the camp we can easily trace the line of demarcation between the earlier and later brickwork, and also see the remains of two of the original gateways (blocked up), one on the N. and the other on the E. side. The S. side was restored in late times with materials taken from ancient buildings in the neighbourhood.

At the S.W. angle of the prætorian camp was a gate (now closed) of which the name is unknown; if we follow the Via delle Mura we shall come to the Porta S. Lorenzo which has taken the place of the ancient Porta Tiburtina. Turning to the R., inside the gate, we shall see an arch, now blocked, and filled up with earth almost to the springing of its vault. From its inscription we learn that it was originally built by Augustus to carry the triple aqueduct of the Aqua Marcia, Tepula, and Julia (p. 224); on the raised level stood an inner arch belonging to Aurelian's fortification, bearing an inscription which recorded its restoration by Honorius. When the modern gateway was built it was found that a *nymphæum* or ornamental fountain had been enclosed in the wall, and the statues which adorned it *left standing!*

From this point to the Porta Prænestina (*Porta Maggiore*), described on p. 222, the aqueduct just mentioned was made use of by the builders of Aurelian, we can see its remains on the inside near the Barriera Tiburtina.

Again, from the Porta Maggiore to the angle N.E. of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, the double aqueduct of the *Claudia* and *Anio Novus* may be seen to form part of the wall (from the garden on the L. of S. Croce). We then come to the Amphitheatrum Castrense, as to which see p. 225, and hence

the wall ran straight¹ to the Porta S. Giovanni (dating from 1574), beyond which is the ancient Porta Asinaria (closed).

Below the Lateran, where the wall is again buttressed as it is under the Villa Medici—in spite of much modern restoration, the foundations of the buttresses are ancient—there are clearly visible remains of ancient buildings, no doubt belonging to the palace of the Laterani, and dating—to judge by their brickwork—from the time of the Severi; a part of this palace was destroyed by Aurelian. The course of the wall, which skirts the edge of the Cælian, now becomes somewhat irregular: there are fine **views** both of the Campagna and of the buildings and trees of the Cælian. We pass the closed gates—the Porta Metrovia (or Metroni) and the Porta Latina, with well-preserved round towers—and then come to the Porta S. Sebastiano, the ancient Porta Appia, largely rebuilt by Honorius with the remains of the Temple of Mars without the walls. Some way further on we see a gateway built into Aurelian's wall which dates from the first century A.D., and belonged to a villa. For a time it served as a postern, but was blocked up by Honorius. It was flanked by Corinthian half-columns, carrying a frieze and architrave, all of travertine.

The construction of a bastion by Antonio di Sangallo for Paul III has removed all trace of the gate by which the Via Ardeatina issued from the city, and we next come to the Porta Ostiensis (Porta S. Paolo), the towers of which are again due to Honorius' restoration; just beyond it is the **Pyramid of Cestius**, a tomb which, as is recorded by the inscription on the E. side, was built in 330 days for a certain Gaius Cestius Epulo, who lived under Augustus and was prætor, tribune, and *Septemvir Epulonum*, i.e. a member of the college of priests who had the management of sacrificial banquets. Among his heirs was Agrippa, who died in 12 B.C. The pyramid must therefore be earlier than that date. It is built of concrete with a facing of marble. Hence the wall ran directly to the Tiber and returned along the river bank (this part has been destroyed) as far as the Mar-

¹ A portion of it collapsed in 1893.

morata. Here there were two towers, one on each bank of the river ; on the R. bank was the Porta Portuensis, about five hundred yards outside the modern Porta Portese. The Transtiberine fortification has almost entirely disappeared, and the Porta Aurelia (Porta S. Pancrazio) and Porta Septimiana (Porta Settimiana) have been modernised.

On the R. bank the wall began again at the Pons Aurelius, represented by the modern Ponte Sisto, and was continued until it reached a point on a level with the Porta Flaminia. The mausoleum of Hadrian (p. 349) was converted into a *tête de pont* and its approaches fortified. The wall has, however, completely disappeared.

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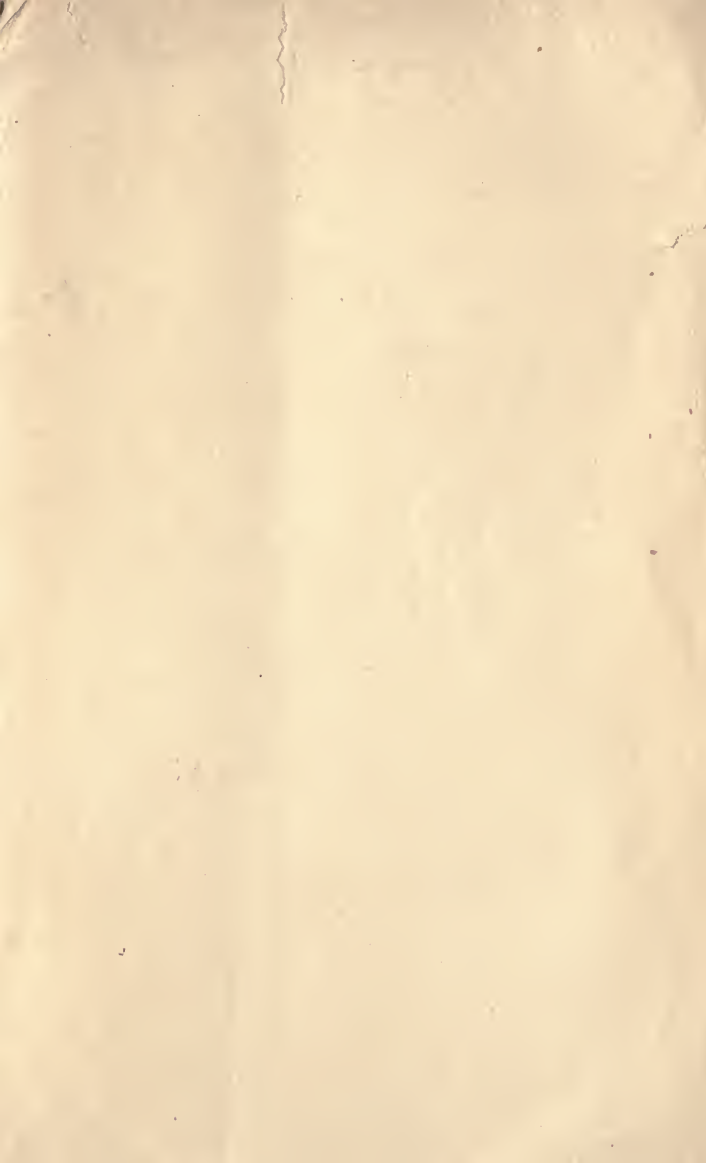
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